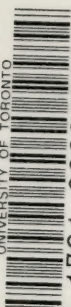


UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ITALIAN
SCHOOLS OF PAINTING

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS



THE DECORATION
OF THE SALA DELLA RAGIONE AT PADUA

By Niccolo Miretto.

Photo Alinari.

THE DEVELOPMENT
OF THE
**Italian Schools
of Painting**

BY

RAIMOND VAN MARLE

Doctor of the Faculty of Letters of the University of Paris

VOLUME VII

With 6 collotype plates and 275 illustrations



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PREFACE.

It was not without a very exact idea of the importance of the enterprise, that my publisher and myself decided to undertake the publication of the continuation of my "Development of the Italian Schools of Painting", a continuation which will comprise an equally detailed account of painting in the 15th century, as that which I have given of the 14th century.

There is a well defined division between Italian art of the Quattrocento and that of the previous century and my method of dealing with it must naturally be quite different. Artists were less dominated by the traditions of the various localized schools; there was more spontaneousness, more occasion for the manifestation of individuality and very important also was the sum of all previous artistic experience, giving rise to a new and more extensive technique which solved many problems of which artists of past centuries did not even suspect the existence. Lastly, quite another mentality is manifest in the works of art of the 15th century.

I venture to think that, although the number of well known consummate artists is greater in the 15th century than in past ages, an idea of the general development of the Italian schools of painting in this period is, for the greater part, almost just as vague as it was for the previous centuries. I should even say that the more considerable number of prominent artistic figures of this epoch has caused a greater neglect of the little masters and of the minor local schools. It is for this reason, that the more eminent painters, although it will not always be possible to furnish new data concerning them, will, none the less, be seen in a different light when they are placed, as I intend to place them, not only among their equals, but among the secondary artists of this period, many of whom have not yet found a place in the history of art.

A few years ago, in the preface to my first volume, I said that connoisseurship is one of the qualities necessary to a good art historian and unquestionably, vice versa, a knowledge of the history of art will always be essential in the moulding of a connoisseur.

The history of art is a science and the study of all sciences should be based on sure and indisputable facts. But connoisseurship does not provide us with data of this fibre and numerous instances exist to prove the fallibility of its results; take first and foremost the attributions. Connoisseurship then is merely a speculation, which, if based on the positive facts furnished by the history of art, can acquire a more or less scientific aspect.

I feel the necessity of insisting on this, because recently real studies on art historical questions have been abandoned, especially in America and England, and replaced by writings which as a matter of fact do not contain anything but attributions; I myself must plead guilty of having contributed my share to this sort of literature which certainly does not lack its interesting side and which, besides, has the advantage of being easily readable and as well furnishes very suitable articles for reviews which do not profess to take our studies over scientifically. This tendency, however, becomes absurd when the champions of connoisseurship go as far as wanting to diminish the value of works of an historical nature, attempting at the same time to apply the denomination "scientific" to works of a purely connoisseurship character. Endeavours have been made in support of this hypothesis by giving an analysis of connoisseurship with a method, founded on numerous examples, for the means of localizing and dating works of art. In such a study one easily digresses into a mere enumeration of the elements which constitute the picture, an enumeration which is liable to be made with such a dryness, that the more important features, as for instance the aesthetic value of the work, its spirit and its vital points, completely disappear.

This reversing of rôles has also its amusing side, because as I said connoisseurship borrows from art history the positive facts which serve for comparison; it is the history of art which provides the certain knowledge of dates and origins and even if we admit that the analysis and the method of connoisseurship have, on these occasions, been well pointed out, it should not be forgotten, that this adds nothing to our knowledge and comprehension of art and its history, but only explains a process of reasoning, of which all really make use in order to determine the origins of artistic productions.

In picking out certain artists from the different local groups of Italian painting and uniting them together in the following three vol-

umes, I am well aware that I am infringing on the laws of custom. Pisanello, Stefano da Verona, Jacobello del Fiore, Gentile da Fabriano, Nelli and many others find a place in these volumes, rather than in the chapters dealing with the Veronese, Venetian, Marchigian and Umbrian schools of the 15th century.

Long from feeling myself guilty of warping the history of art in order to come to this, until now, unthought-of classification, on the contrary, I am of opinion that artificial efforts would have to be made to group in one school, painters, who have little in common but the site of their birth. The international style arrived and those who joined it, left, on this account, their own local artistic community to enter another, the cosmopolitan one. Consequently, in describing the local schools without those artists who represent the international style, and who, as it will be demonstrated, when grouped together, form one of the multitudinous schools of Italian painting, I remain quite faithful to my programme of exposing the "Development of the Italian Schools of Painting". This school differs from the others only in the fact, that its members are not limited to any one town or province.

The painters, who worked after the Gothic style in Florence and Siena, are slightly different from those of the rest of Italy. Yet artists like Lorenzo Monaco, Bicci di Lorenzo, Sassetta and Giovanni di Paolo must be classified in the Gothic group, and although their art shows variations on the other contemporary productions, still it is partly the outcome of the preceding style of painting in these two towns.

Fra Angelico too, in spite of his drawing, is often Gothic but before all, he is praiseworthy and interesting as a painter of the Renaissance.

In Venice, Jacopo Bellini and the Vivarini held a similar place.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS.

In the middle ages and particularly during the 13th century a phenomenon which created a fairly general resemblance between the different European schools of painting, took place; it was the spreading of the Byzantine style which infiltrated everywhere and dominated almost every pictorial manifestation of this period.

About the year 1400 a similar event occurred; but then the style which was disseminated throughout Europe was the late or flowery Gothic which Courajod was the first to call the international style.

Although this name, invented by the illustrious French critic is very fitting, I cannot say that we owe him a very clear explanation either of its origin or the different elements which go to constitute it.

Before attempting to trace the source of this style which we are about to discuss, I think it essential that some description should be given of its component elements.

On examining the pictures, whether they be of Italian or other origin, which are characteristic of this international Gothic style, we are always struck by a certain curious opposition between the conventionality of the drawing and the reality of the details. The drawing and linear effects are but the natural and logical outcome of the Gothic style of the 14th century, and that without any unusual or rapid evolution.

Gothic art was in no way opposed to the tendency towards natural details, such for example as the anatomical observations which have produced the superb hands of certain sculptures of the 14th century, or again the carving of leaves of an exactitude worthy of a great botanist. Nevertheless, generally speaking, the art of the 14th century was far from being realistic and was so thoroughly dominated by spiritual abstraction that the reality

of detail never developed in such a manner as to clash with the conventional unreality of the ensemble, so that Gothic art of Central and Northern Europe, prior to the 15th century, does not reveal an appearance which can be described as true to nature.

To be exact, the Gothic style in as far as form is concerned impeded the development of realism in the art of many countries almost until the middle of the 15th century, and the style which resulted from the blending of these conventional forms and the Gothic insistence upon details which was gradually transformed into the realism of the Renaissance, will form the subject of this volume, at least with regard to its manifestations in Italy.

From what I have just said, it is clear that I differentiate between the Gothic fidelity of detail and the realism which characterizes the Renaissance. I think that many of the mistakes concerning the new style which appeared at the beginning of the 15th century, have arisen from the fact that it has not been very well understood that the two ways of looking at things are very diverse in character. Even Courajod in his lecture on the part that the North of France took in the Renaissance has not understood this ⁽¹⁾.

When realism begins to dominate, it absorbs the Gothic fidelity to detail and gradually transforms the conventional Gothic lines into forms more closely resembling nature. The definite step in this direction was made by the van Eycks, for in spite of the protestations of certain French critics, it is now quite undeniable that the north, that is to say the regions to the north of France, had a primordial influence in the formation of the realistic art of the Renaissance of almost all the countries outside Italy.

This is certainly not a suitable place to take up the controversy on the importance of French primitive painting, which has had such an valiant supporter in the person of Monsieur Bouchot, who, however, no more than anyone else, has ever succeeded in demonstrating that the art of painting in France played an important rôle before the end of the 15th century ⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *L. Courajod*, *La part de la France du Nord dans l'oeuvre de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1890.

⁽²⁾ As *L. Dimier*, *Les primitifs français (Les Grands Artistes)*, Paris, no date, has, among others, clearly shown.

That there was a considerable number of painters in France is but natural considering we are dealing with a highly civilized country, but that these painters were of any great merit or that painting, other than that purely decorative, was an art in vogue in France has never been substantiated by examples. One always falls back on the evidence of the exhibition of French primitives, where not only had the organisers not been able to gather together more than *six* purely French paintings prior to the 15th century, but the collection of pictures up until about the year 1480 was equally poor, there not being even twenty-five examples of the French school which, according to the catalogue, dated from this period.

Under pretext that the French princes at that time dominated Flanders, attempts have been made to incorporate the works of Flemish artists with the French school, but anyone whose judgement is not biassed by an undue feeling of nationalism will perceive the falseness of this argument which, however, only a few French writers of the present time now support. The French domination of Flanders was purely political and I do not think that anyone will pretend that from a racial standpoint the Flemish can be considered as belonging to France. Nevertheless Bouchot solved the problem of the lack of French paintings by including within the French frontiers such Flemish towns as Bruges, Ghent, Tournay etc. The van Eycks then, who were not even of Flemish origin but from a region still further north, become French ⁽¹⁾.

An attempt has been made to mitigate the incontestable fact that all the well-known painters who worked in France at the end of the 14th century were of Netherlandish origin, by bringing forward the supposition that these artists came to France at an early age and received their education in Paris.

If proof had been forthcoming that there existed an important local school in Paris and that the presence of foreigners there was exceptional, then there might have been some ground for this hypothesis. But none exists. Artists were called from the regions to the north of France and their number was so great that they doubtless had excellent schools from which connoisseurs like the Dukes of Berry and of Burgundy procured the artists who worked

(1) *H. Bouchot, Les primitifs français, Paris, 1904, p. 225.*

for them. Cavael, mentioned in 1399 and 1400, who worked in Milan, came from Ypres; so also did Melchior Broederlam (1381—1410) whom the Duke of Burgundy requested to come to Dijon to take part in the decoration of the Chartreuse of Champmol, started by Philip the Bold in 1377; one of his pictures still exists in Dijon. Beauneveu (1361—1413), whose sculptures and miniatures are known to us, came from Hainaut and was one of the most significant artists of the period. Jehan Hennequin originated from Liège while the native town of Jean de Bondol, who has sometimes been identified with Hennequin, was Bruges; he worked for the King of France who nominated him the court painter and his valet in 1368; a miniature of 1372 from his hand is preserved in the Meerman van Westreenen Museum, in The Hague. Jacques Coene's town of origin was the same; he worked in 1398, went to Milan and has been identified with the Master of the Book of Hours of Boucicaut. Henri Bellechose who worked from 1415 till 1445 for John the Fearless was from Brabant; he finished the picture of St. Denis ordered for the Chartreuse of Champmol from Malouel who originated from Gueldre and who was active from 1399 to 1415 for Philip the Bold. His nephews were Pol of Limbourg and his two brothers, who came from the same region and who up till the death of the Duke of Berry (1416), worked at the Book of Hours which this prince ordered from them and which is now preserved at Chantilly. From the same district came Clous Sluter (1380—1406), the founder of the Burgundian school of sculpture; he was also called to Dijon to work at the Chartreuse of Champmol where he was assisted and succeeded by his nephew, Claes van de Werve (1390—1439). It was this same country that later on gave birth to the van Eycks.

Other artists from the north are known only by name. As early as 1320 a certain Pierre de Bruxelles is recorded as being active in Paris, painting portraits and sea-scapes in oil colours. We find as well mention of Henri and Conrad Vulcop, Barthelémy de Clerq and Copin Delf, all of whom are believed to be Flemish, Jean de Hollande in 1398 at Bourges, Arnoul de Catz from Utrecht who in 1440 worked in the studio of the Burgundian artist, Dombet at Avignon and Jean Costé whose real name was no doubt Coster. Compared with those of Netherlandish origin, other foreign artists working in France are few in number.



Fig. 1. Broederlam, the Annunciation and Visitation, 1390. Museum, Dijon.

Photo Giraudon.

To the evidence which results from this avalanche of northern artists descending on Paris and Dijon, M. Bouchot opposed arguments which are really of very little value. He wished to explain the number and high standard of all these artists by the

fact that the Countess Mahaut of Flanders brought painters to Artois and that masters from Paris were installed in Hesdin, a place very near Flanders. It is hardly worth while pointing out that these facts alone only suffice to explain the presence of several of their pupils in Flanders, whereas the number of Netherlanders and before all the position they occupied at the artistic courts of France and Burgundy, prove beyond any doubt that it was they who dominated. I can hardly imagine that M. Bouchot himself was not aware of his own inveracity when he says that the artists from the north were all dependent on French masters, such as Jean Pucelle, and that Broederlam and Malouel imported into France an art that was already half a century old.

Nothing at this epoch could have been more modern and more different from the fine but traditional art of Jean Pucelle than Broederlam's two superb panels of 1390 at Dijon, one of the first works to show in a preponderating manner the elements of the coming Renaissance (fig. 1).

That Philip the Bold who, by his marriage, became Count of Flanders, was better placed than his predecessors to appreciate the worth of the northern artists is obvious, as is also the incontestable fact that the painters from these regions found, at the different courts of France, especially that of Burgundy, occasion to reach a fuller stage of development; but on the other hand it is also certain that the Maecenian princes made those artists whom they thought superior to the others come and work for them and the fact that the Netherlanders were so numerous and took such an important place is an unquestionable and absolute proof of their merit.

A curious example of the partiality certain French critics have of propounding the existence of an important French school of painting is the case of M. E. Durand-Gréville who, referring to a fresco of the 13th century, which moreover is of no value, in the cathedral of St. Blaise in Brunswick, showing the signature, "*Johannes Wale Gallicus*", remarks:

"Voilà un fait que n'est probablement pas isolé et qui tend à prouver aussi la force d'expansion de la peinture française" (1).

(1) *E. Durand-Gréville*, Hubert et Jean van Eyck, Bruxelles. 1910, p. 6.

We are offered then the affirmation that the presence of one solitary signature of a French painter — concerning whom nothing is known — under a mediocre work in a foreign country, proves, “la force d’expansion de la peinture française”, whereas the presence of numerous Netherlandish artists whose excellence was recognized by the French princes who employed them and nominated them their court artists, in no way proves “la force d’expansion de la peinture Néerlandaise”, but on the contrary should support the hypothesis that they were there to learn their art from the French painters!

It would be useless here to enter into a polemic controversy ⁽¹⁾. Many French critics have since recognized Bouchot’s errors and now see the question from a non-nationalistic point of view. Nevertheless the chauvinistic party has still its adherents.

The reason of my entering at all into this discussion is that the origin of certain elements which constitute international Gothic art of the 15th century appears to lie in the north. It does not seem unlikely that it was chiefly in France that this northern current met the other contributory stream which originated in Italy and it was this union in France which created the most beautiful productions of the style. Further, I think it highly probably that it was France which was chiefly instrumental in transmitting the Sienese influence, which Simone Martini had introduced when

⁽¹⁾ An almost complete bibliography on the question will be found in *Fierens-Gevaert*, *La Renaissance septentrionale et les premiers maîtres des Flandres*, Bruxelles, 1905, p. 216. Apart from those I have already mentioned, the following more recent publications might still be cited: *W. H. J. Weale*, Hubert and John van Eyck, London, 1907. *J. Mesnil*, *L’art au Nord et au Sud des Alpes à l’époque de la Renaissance*, Bruxelles-Paris, 1911, p. 1: *Les Heures du Duc de Berry à Chantilly*. *B. Kurth*, *Der Adlerturm*, Jahrbuch f. Denkmalpflege, V, 1911, p. 1. *M. Dvorák*, *Die Anfänge der Holländische Malerei*, Jahrb. der K. Preus. Kunstsamml., 1918, p. 51. *The Same*, *Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte*, Munich, 1924, p. 43. *Idealismus und Naturalismus in der Gotischen Skulptur u Malerei* (also in *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1918). *The Same*, *Das Rätsel der Kunst der Brüder van Eyck*, Munich 1925, Chap. IV, *Die geschichtliche Stellung Huberts u. Jans u. das Geheimnis der neuen Kunst* (an early and therefore somewhat out of date study of this great savant, taking into consideration chiefly French and Italian origins). *M. J. Friedlander*, *Die alt Niederländische Malerei*, I, Berlin, 1924, p. 12. *L. Dimier*, *Histoire de la peinture française*, I, Paris—Bruxelles, 1925, p. 20.

he worked at Avignon, to other regions of Europe, in particular to Cologne and Bohemia.

The influence that Simone Martini and his adherents had on French painting was of considerable duration. We know that other Italian painters found their way to France and we also know that there were other relations between Italy and the countries of the north. Many Italian books were imported into France and the King of France, for a reason unknown to us, sent in 1298 the painter Etienne d'Auxerre to Rome. Rusuti, the Roman worker in mosaic, with his son and an assistant whose name, Desmars, was French, worked from 1308—1322 for the king at Poitiers ⁽¹⁾.

It is recorded that Jean de Gand sold in Paris in 1328 some pictures which were qualified as "ouvrage de Rome" but it is quite possible that this denomination only referred to the particular technique of the works which might for example have been in mosaic. Giovanni Alcherio, a native of Milan, is found continually travelling between Italy and France, making a special study of the technique of painting.

In 1373 Jean d'Artois goes to Lombardy to work for Duke Philip of Burgundy but shortly afterwards the same prince employs him in Flanders. Coene, a Fleming and Jean Mignol de Compiègne, a Frenchman, go in 1399 to take part in the construction of the cathedral of Milan, but they are sent back shortly afterwards. Jacques Rapondé and Pierre Sacco were both natives of Verona who settled in Paris; the former was employed illuminating or having illuminated a "bible moralisée" for Philip the Bold when this prince died in 1404, leaving the bible to the Duke of Berry. On several occasions mention is made of "l'ouvrage de Lombardie", probably a style current in the north of Italy and introduced into France, in any case it points once more to an influence coming from Italy.

Nevertheless it must be said that the style of painting practised in France in the second half of the 14th century reveals no Italian influence other than that of Simone Martini. There are no works in which any reflex of Italian painting subsequent to that of the great Sienese master, is noticed, nor do we find any trace of a

(1) v. Vol. I, p. 490.

truly Florentine influence or indeed an influence of any Italian school other than that of Siena. I might even say that the tradition of Simone's art was preserved in a more pure form in France than in Siena itself, where the painters of the following generation had already considerably transformed it. It may be that Simone's art in which, as I have remarked elsewhere, he had introduced a number of elements peculiar to French Gothic sculpture, had a special attraction for French painters since the style was not strange to them but rather contained factors with which they must have been familiar. It may be for this reason that the art of Simone, who transposed the forms and proportions of French Gothic sculpture to painting, had such a success in France.

It is true that the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple in the "Très Riches Heures" of the Duke of Berry, at Chantilly, the work of Pol de Limbourg and his brothers, resembles in composition Taddeo Gaddi's fresco in the Baroncelli chapel in Sta. Croce, Florence; but another explanation of this can be brought forward. A drawing, perhaps from the hand of Gaddi himself and which might have served as the rough sketch for his fresco, is preserved in the collection of drawings in the Louvre⁽¹⁾ and might very well have been known to the miniaturists working in France in the beginning of the 15th century. As to the other miniatures, such for instance as the Calvary and the Descent from the Cross, the source of the iconographical types is obviously Simone Martini's; further M. Mâle in a comparative study on Italian and French iconography⁽²⁾ clearly demonstrated how in this matter France was entirely dependent on Italian examples; and thereby did away with much of the theory that he had previously held in connexion with the influence of the mystery plays on the formation of iconographical types⁽³⁾.

It is interesting to observe — which so far has never been done — that in the Christological representations of the Limbourg brothers there is a purely Lombard iconographical detail.

(1) v. Vol. V, fig. 281.

(2) *E. Mâle*, L'iconographie française et l'art italien au XIV^e siècle et au commencement du XV^e, *Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne*, 1920, pp. 5 and 79.

(3) *E. Mâle*, L'art religieux de la fin du Moyen Age en France, Paris, 1908, Chap. I.

In the Resurrection of Lazarus, he is depicted coming out of a coffin which has been opened from above, which is very different from all the other Italian representations of the Trecento but which, however, is found in the fresco of Giovanni da Milano in the church of Sta. Croce, Florence. Further in discussing Giovanni de' Grassi it will be seen that this is not the only indication of a Lombard influence on these miniatures.

Generally speaking it can be said that at the courts of Burgundy and Berry the Sieneese style was highly favoured; at any rate the painters who worked for the Chartreuse of Champmol reveal in their productions a considerable influence of the grace and sweetness of Sieneese art.

Beauneveu who is mentioned from 1361 till 1402—1413 and who, as I said, originated from Hainaut, seems to have been the most highly considered artist by the French princes of the end of the 14th century. He was a sculptor as well as a miniaturist, executed the statues of Philip VI, John II and Charles V at St. Denis and is sometimes believed to be the author of the figure of St. Catherine in the chapel of the counts in Notre Dame of Courtrai. It is particularly in his miniatures, such as those in the Duke of Berry's Book of Psalms in the National Library, Paris (MS. fr. 13091) (fig. 2) and in the grisailles which he executed at the beginning of the "Très Riches Heures" of the Duke of Berry, in the Royal Library, Brussels (11060—61) (fig. 3), that we see that his idea of depicting individual features has nothing to do with the more crude realism of the purely French miniatures. The portrait of John, Duke of Berry, which figures in the latter of these manuscripts shows, although the resemblance might be quite good, that suavity peculiar to the portraits by Simone Martini, such for example as that of St. Louis at Naples, Guidoriccio da Fogiano in the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena or Cardinal Gentile at Assisi. The portrait is no doubt true to nature but the artist has conceived the person in a spiritualized manner; even although he has not actually flattered the features, he has idealized the expression. This also may be said of the portrait of Charles V in the miniature of 1372 by Jean de Bondol, now preserved in the Meerman van Westreenen Museum in The Hague, and of another portrait of the same king in the Parement from Narbonne at the Louvre, both works which derive from the



Fig. 2. André Beauneveu, miniature, from the Psalter of the Duke of Berry.
National Library, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

Sienese style. Gothic idealism is less marked in the drawing of the tapestries in the cathedral of Angers, also from the hand of Jean de Bondol (1376) but is again shown in the sculptures of Charles V and Jeanne de Bourbon in the Louvre, which have sometimes — and not without reason — been attributed to Jean de Liège (Courajod) but also to Jean de Saint Romain (¹).

(¹) *Fierens-Gevaert*, op. cit., p. 38.

Even more Sienese in character than the illuminations in the Book of Hours at Chantilly are those which are now kept in the National Library, Paris (mss. Lat. 919 and 13091) and in the

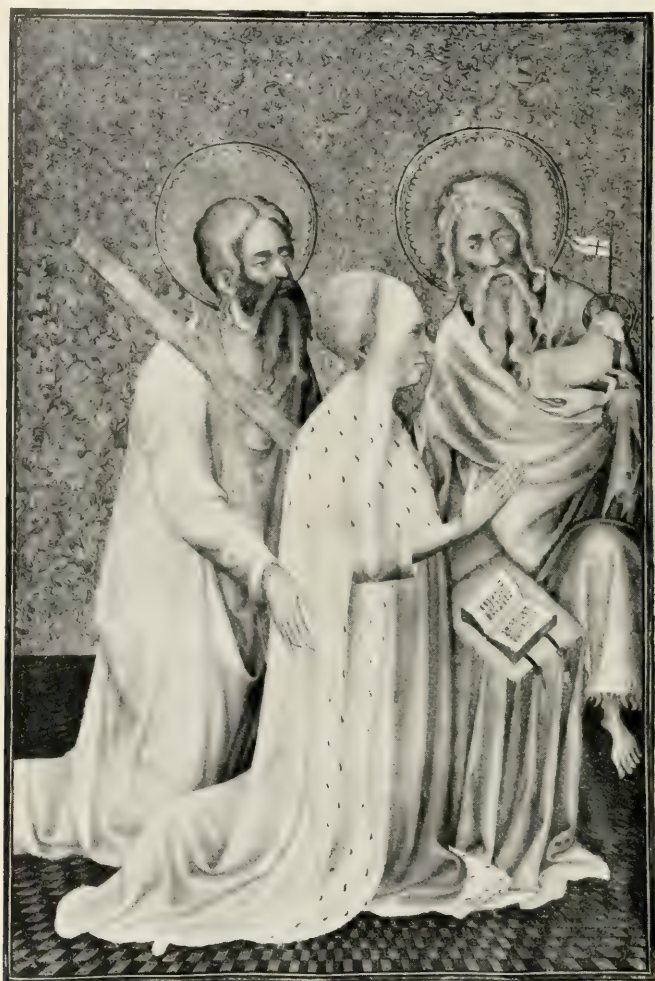


Fig. 3. André Beauneveu, miniature, from the "Très Riches Heures" of the Duke of Berry. Royal Library, Brussels,

Photo Pardon.

Royal Library, Brussels, which were executed for the Duke of Berry by Jacquemart de Hesdin who was active in 1384 and died before 1413 (fig. 4). I have already mentioned the grisailles

by André Beauneveu at the beginning of the latter manuscript⁽¹⁾. I do not think that Sir Martin Conway does this artist justice when he says that we find no progress in the realism of



Fig. 4. Jacquemart de Hesdin, miniature, from the "Très Riches Heures" of the Duke of Berry. Royal Library, Brussels.

Photo Pardon.

his landscapes⁽²⁾. On the contrary, it is just on account of the manner in which he depicts landscapes that we can associate these miniatures with a whole group of works executed by

(¹) *Pol de Mont*, *Un livre d'Heures de Duc Jean de Berry: Le Musée des enluminures*, Haarlem, London, no date.

(²) *M. Conway*, *The van Eycks and their Followers*, London. 1921, p. 24.

Flemish painters such as the Book of Hours at Chantilly that I have just mentioned, that which existed at Turin, and the lateral pieces of Broederlam's picture at Dijon. Many of the miniatures show the most natural landscapes, of a very northern character, as for instance the winter scene in the background of the Flight into Egypt. The architecture too is very different from that of Italian painting.

The figures however are quite Sieneſe in appearance, and the scenes of the Passion in particular, which are imbued with a highly dramatic ſpirit, reveal in form and colour as well a predominating Italian influence. The types are in no way Flemish; this is even more obvious in the grisailles by Beauneveu in which, on account of the nature of the ſubjects there are no background landscapes.

These miniatures demonstrate in a very precise way what was happening at that moment in the realm of French painting. To the Gothic and conventional human forms acquired from Simone Martini's art, at that time already half a century old, was united the realism of the northern artists, then quite a new element, which we find in the landscape backgrounds of the miniatures.

The majority of pictures actually ſpeaking, executed in France during the ſame period, ſhow more markedly and in a purer form the duration of the influence of Sieneſe art as exemplified in Simone Martini's manner. The beſt known pictures are the *Parement de Narbonne*, the tondo attributed to Jean Malouel which depicts the dead Saviour ſupported by God the Father in the miſt of the Virgin, St. John and ſeveral ſaints (fig. 5), the martyrdom of St. Denis ſtarted by Malouel and finiſhed by Bellechoſe (fig. 6), the Entombment, the drawings of the Death, the Aſſumption, and the Coronation of the Virgin in the Louvre, the diptych of the Virgin and the Crucifixion in the Bargello Muſeum, Florence; as to pictures in private collections we might cite the Adoration of the Magi and the Death of the Virgin formerly in the Lippmann collection, the half-length figure of the Madonna, once in the Aynard collection, which has been attributed to Malouel, and the Trinity and the Evangelists of the Weber collection, Hamburg.

These, and a few others which I ſhall not enumerate, are the

pictures which provide us with the proof that at the end of the 14th century there existed a more or less homogeneous style of painting in France. It is true that for the greater part the artists seem to have come from the north, but this only proves that the



Fig. 5. Jean Malouel, the Holy Trinity. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

Sienese style, and in particular the manner of Simone Martini, had spread also to these regions, because had it not been for Simone's influence the art which, with the help of the Netherlandish painters, was created in France at the end of the 14th century, would, without any doubt, have had quite a different appearance.

It is not only in France that we find this spiritualized form of

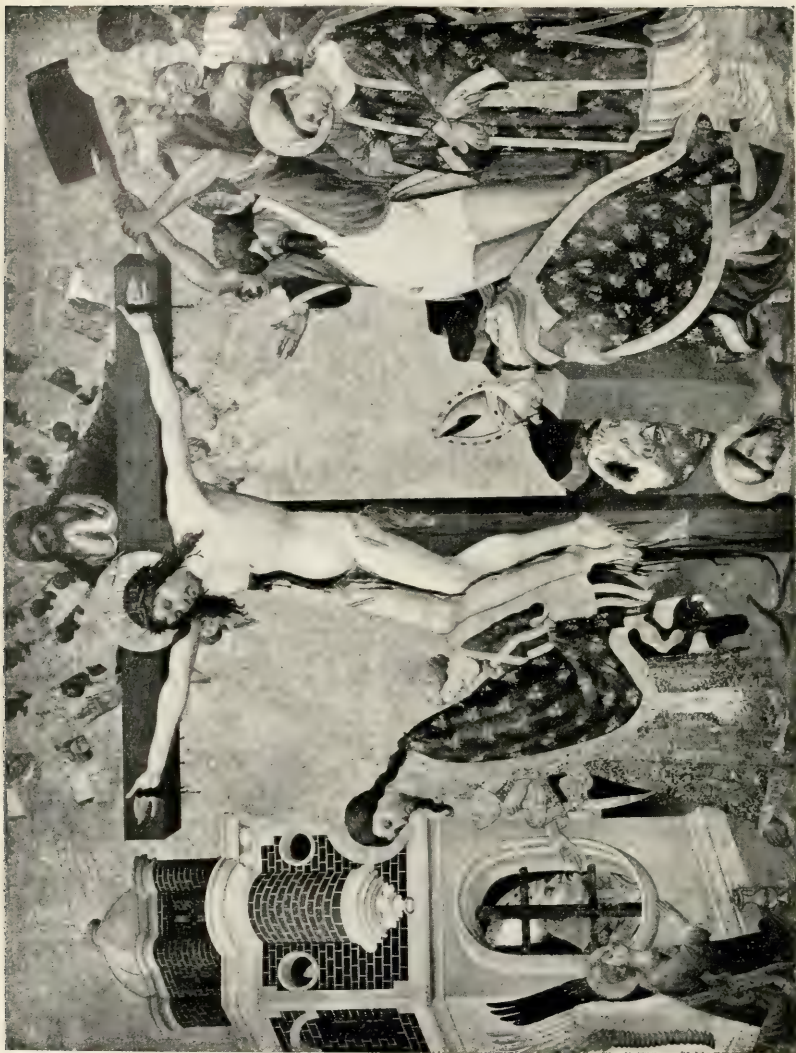


Fig. 6. Jean Malouel and Bellechose, the martyrdom of St. Denis. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

Gothic painting which, in expression as well as general appearance, points to Simone's art as its source of inspiration, but it is quite possible that the French interpretation was instrumental in the spreading of the style at least to several countries.



Fig. 7. The Master of St. Veronica, the Crucifixion.
Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne.

Photo Kunstgew. Mus., Cologne.

In Germany it was the school of Cologne which most closely approached the Sienese manner or rather that which developed from Simone's tradition in France during the second half of the 14th century. But already in the first half of the 14th century the

painting of Cologne bore a considerable resemblance to contemporary French miniatures.

The Franco-Sienese influence is fairly evident in the works of Meister Wilhelm, the so-called Veronica-Meister and a few of their immediate pupils, painters in whose works we find that harmony between the subject expression and linear effect of the Gothic design, producing images which are graceful and at the same time as highly spiritual as the productions of Siena or France. In these cases the morphological types have only a slightly national character and there is as yet no question of the ultra-realistic expressions which are seen in the works of the following generation. The iconography also reveals a certain dependence on Italian and French examples. This is specially marked in the representations of the Passion (figs. 7 and 8) and in particular in the scenes of the Descent from the Cross and the Entombment.

Among the productions of the Upper Rhine district we also find a few pictures executed in this style, which I shall call the idealized Gothic, such for example as the Friedberg altar-piece in the Museum of Darmstadt, but in the other regions of Germany this manner is very exceptional. It is clear that the Rhine more than the other Germanic countries was in closer contact with the western influence and it is for this reason that we find there this particular style which I do not think the most characteristic for Germany. Faces, showing very individual features and the action energetically rendered, dominated those regions of Germany where the art retained a more purely national appearance, and as we shall see later on, Germany had already produced earlier examples of realistic representation. Nevertheless, a few rare cases of painting resembling the Franco-Sienese style are to be found in other parts of Germany. Several specimens were produced in Saxony, the best being the "Golden panel" from Lünenberg in the Museum of Hanover⁽¹⁾. In the south were executed the Pähler altar in the National Museum of Munich (fig. 9), the Imhof altar in the church of St. Laurence in Neurnberg and the Deichsler altar-piece, a production of the school of Franconia, now in the Museum of Berlin. The fresco of the Cruci-

⁽¹⁾ For other examples v. *C. Habicht*. *Die Mittelalterliche Malerei Niedersachsens*, I, Strasbourg, 1919.



Fig. 8. The Master of St. Veronica, the Descent into Hell.
Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne.

Photo Kunstgew. Mus., Cologne.



Fig. 9. South German School, the Pähler altar. National Museum, Munich.

fixion in the chapel of SS. Peter and Paul in the minster of Freiburg in Brisgau dates from about 1380 ⁽¹⁾, while in the north of

⁽¹⁾ For other examples of this art in Southern Germany v. *O. Fischer*, *Die Altdeutsche Malerei in Salzburg*, Leipzig, 1903.

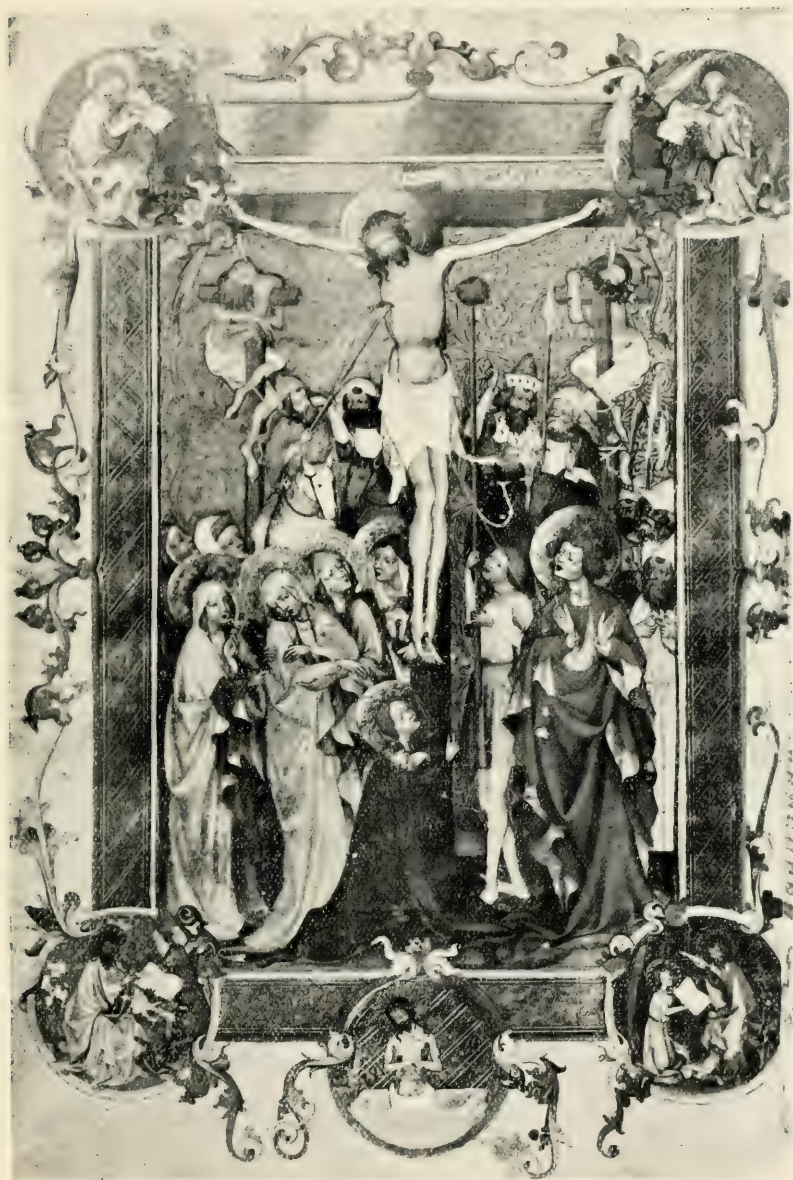


Fig 10. Miniature, 1409, from the Hasenburg Missal. Library, Vienna.

Germany we find the altar-pieces of Darup and Isselhorst, of the Westphalian school.

The altar-piece of the Virgin in the church of St. Mary at Dortmund and the reredos in the chapel of St. Anna at Frauenburg might also just be included in this group.

These paintings, which I have enumerated above, all show a certain diversity to the national artistic movement and it is quite possible that it was a fortuitous knowledge of French painting or miniatures or of the productions of the Sienese school which accounts for the special appearance of these works.

Some pictures of the same style were executed also in Holland. Not long ago a fresco belonging to the Franco-Sienese current was discovered in the Cathedral of Utrecht; it shows the Lord on the Cross with the Virgin and St. John to one side and St. Helen (?) and a chimerical figure to the other. A panel dating from 1363 in the Museum of Antwerp, but apparently originating from the church of St. John of Utrecht, belongs to the same artistic tendency and again represents the Crucified between the Virgin and St. John with, in this case, the donor, the archdeacon Hendrich van Rijn, kneeling below. In sentiment and purity of line these paintings most closely resemble the Pähler altar of Munich, which is certainly the finest German example of this movement.

The Bohemian school takes quite a special place in the history of painting of this period and the examples that we possess of this art, are highly important, showing a very definite style, not without resemblance to Franco-Sienese Gothic painting, but all the same sufficiently different to enable us to recognize a local school (1). The foundation of the Bohemian style might, in the first instance, be traced to the almost uninterrupted relations that the court of Prague had with Avignon, but doubtless, also many of the elements which reached this new centre of art came

(1) v. the important chapter dedicated to this school in the *Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft*, directed by *F. Burger and A. E. Brinkmann*. *Die Deutsche Malerei*, I., Berlin, 1913, p. 121. *C. Glaser*, *Zwei Jahrhunderte deutscher Malerei*, Munich, 1916, p. 6. *W. Worringer*, *Die Anfänge der Tafel-malerei*, Leipzig, 1924, p. 46. *C. Glaser*, *Die Altdeutsche Malerei*, Munich, 1924, p. 16.

directly from Italy. It is quite evident that the finest miniatures, such as those which decorate the "liber viaticus" of Johann von Neumarkt (circa 1360) in the Museum of Prague, those in the



Fig. 11. The Master of Hohenfurth, the Annunciation.
Monastery of Hohenfurth, Bohemia.

Bible of King Wenceslaus and the Hasenburgian Missal (1409) (fig. 10), both in the Library of Vienna, as well as the illuminations of the "Vesperale et Matutinale" (circa 1410) in the Library of Zittau reveal very little which approximates them to contemporary French miniature painting, whereas the Italian elements are much more significant in the colouring as well as in the por-

trayal of an almost pathetic agitation, which is a feature strongly opposed to the lack of action of the French works.

A more striking resemblance to French art will be noticed in the panels of this school, particularly in those of the Master of Hohenfurth (fig. 11) whose nine pictures at the abbey of the same name recall, on account of the forms, the proportions and the technique of the faces, French ivories rather than the miniatures and paintings of the French school. I do not think they were executed prior to about 1360 and for that period the style is somewhat archaic. A beautiful picture of the Madonna originating from Glatz, now in the Museum of Berlin, is a characteristic production of the Bohemian school (fig. 12).

The master of Wittingau, whose works are preserved in the Museum of Prague, was of a still later date. He was less dominated by the conventional French forms, but the influence of German and Italian art is evident in his painting (fig. 13).

To complete our survey of the painting really dependent on Simone Martini's school as known through the French interpretation of this manner, we might add a few English examples. As such should be cited the diptych in the collection of Lord Pembroke, showing the Virgin standing, holding the Child in the midst of angels, and the kneeling figure of Richard II (1377-99) behind whom are depicted SS. Edmond, Edward and John the Baptist. A portrait on panel of the same king is preserved in the presbytery of the cathedral of Westminster.

In the British Museum an older fragment — which however I can hardly think dates back to 1322 — represents the destruction of the children of Job. A few other paintings are found in the churches and private collections of England¹). English miniatures executed in the same manner seem to be few in number and I only know of those in the Book of Hours, which perhaps belonged to John de Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, who died in 1410, and is now in the British Museum (Royal ms. 2 A XVIII) (fig. 14). The generality of English painting in this style, however, is not of great importance and the Pembroke diptych has even sometimes been claimed as a French production, but this, I think,

¹) *W. R. Lethaby*, A fourteenth century English triptych, *The Burlington Magazine*, 1922, p. 110. *T. Borenius*, English Primitives, *Proceedings Brit. Ac.*, XI, 1924.



Fig. 12. Bohemian School, Madonna. Museum, Berlin.

is erroneous, for this work, as well as the portrait in Westminster Abbey and the miniatures sooner show a resemblance to certain German paintings.

In Spain I know of no works belonging to this artistic movement. Between the very interesting Romanesque paintings and the highly important schools of the 15th century, we find only a few productions of the 14th century in Catalonia. Those by Ferrer Bassa at Pedralbes (1346) and by Jaume Serra at Saragossa (1361) ⁽¹⁾ and some other paintings of this period have sooner the appearance of feeble provincial Tuscan works, not without a strong Sienese influence, but they show nothing which is reminiscent of the special group which is at present under discussion.

I do not know any examples of this art in Scandinavia, but, from those that I have already enumerated, it is obvious that international Gothic painting, originating in Siena, but frequently made known to the other countries through the French interpretation, attained a very extensive dissemination without the passage of the frontiers causing undue changes in its appearance.

This was just before the introduction of those first elements of realism which gave the entire painting of Europe a character of "tableaux de genre", an event which took place about the year 1400 but which had been prepared, as we shall see, a considerable time before.

Of the Franco-Sienese idealized Gothic manner, the international style of the beginning of the 15th century retained only something of the outward forms because the spirit of the work became quite different. Many of the productions which belong to this style, that spread throughout Europe at the beginning of the 15th century, have the appearance of "tableaux de genre" and this is due to the great attention which the artists paid to the intimate particulars of every-day private life, which resulted in a much more marked realism than did the truth to minutiae

⁽¹⁾ *A. L. Mayer*, *Geschichte der Spanischen Malerei*, I, Leipzig, 1913, p. 31. *V. von Loga*, *Die Malerei in Spanien*, Berlin, 1923, p. 8. *G. Richert*, *Mittelalterliche Malerei in Spanien*, Berlin (1926), p. 33. I do not quite understand the enthusiasm about these mediocre paintings which *M. E. Bertaux* expresses in *L'Histoire de l'art*, directed by A. Michel, III², p. 745.



Fig. 13. The Wittingau Master, the Resurrection. Museum, Prague.

of Gothic art, although the painters were still far from attaining that untrammelled realism which characterizes the Renaissance.

The realism of the international Gothic style is noticeable in

the first place in the portrayal of individual faces and in the attention given to contemporary costume as well as to many other details of daily life. It will also be remarked that besides a certain irreverence being given to sacred subjects, profane paintings became at that time more and more favoured.

I am convinced that this deviation in pictorial art was prepared particularly in Germany where we find indication of it long before it is seen in the works of any other country. German Gothic art — especially sculpture — created portraits a considerable time before we discover any trace of them in France; even in the first half of the 13th century German artists produced figures with a personal likeness and doubtless of a good resemblance, while in France it was about a century later that portraiture was introduced.

Good portraiture also helped in the evolution of international art which started to flourish about 1400. Even in German works of the early Middle Ages there is an endeavour to depict highly individual features and life-like expressions, sometimes even ferocious⁽¹⁾, which is not found in the art of other countries until the second half of the 14th century or beginning of the 15th.

I do not in any manner of way pretend that the realism of feature in the international style originated solely and without other mediation from the German ancestors of several hundred years before, but what I do wish to fix the attention on, is the existence of this tendency in Germanic countries long before it is evident elsewhere, and in the agglomeration of factors which go to compose international art, this was Germany's contribution.

With regard to the Netherlandish artists, it is true that the greater part of those who came to France at the end of the 14th century, revealed a particular knowledge of the Siense style, nevertheless it is evident that the art of Claus Sluter, Broederlam, the Limbourg brothers and the master of the Book of Hours of Turin is more easily explained if we admit an artistic education very different from that which they would have received in France in the second half of the 14th century, and in many of

(1) An interesting collection of realistic German heads has been published by R. Hamann, *Deutsche Köpfe des Mittelalters*, Marburg a. d. Lahn, 1922.



Fig. 14 English School. Miniature, end of the 14th century, Annunciation and donors. British Museum.

their realistic details they show themselves to have been sooner inspired by this side of German art which we have just discussed.

I do not say that love of the realistic can be considered only an advantage.

Certainly judging from the standpoint of the 20th century and looking at the evolution which has taken place in European art since the Gothic period, we cannot but admit that realistic conceptions have contributed much to what has been achieved. Nevertheless realism, as opposed to mediæval truism, was one of the causes of the end of idealized Gothic art in which France excelled in the 13th and 14th centuries.

Realism after all is due to a democratic spirit and to a bourgeois rather than an idealistic conception of life. Those details which please us to-day because the artist gives us a glimpse of every-day occupations of quite another period, are not without a certain triviality when we consider them from the point of view of a contemporary. Taking everything into consideration, the tendency of those artists who attired the most sacred figures like the ladies and gentlemen of high rank whom they saw passing every day before their studios, who gave them the faces of those they met at every turning, who placed them in the most ordinary surroundings of human existence and made them execute gestures and strike attitudes as much as possible like simple human beings, with all this, then, the tendency is towards a lack of grandeur and idealism. It is not artistic realism but sooner the result of a desire to place the divine beings within our compass since religion, becoming democratic with the rest, no longer aspired to a purely spiritual dignity, of which the Gothic style was and always will remain the sublime and exclusive expression.

The new realism of the painters of about 1400 was in fact an expansion of Gothic truisms which included material forms as well as conditions of life, but no one had as yet made the following step, namely the life-like reproduction, unshackled by style, of forms, whether human or otherwise, as classical masters had done. The line of the drawing and the forms remained before all Gothic.

In Germany a precise date cannot be fixed for the introduction of this realism which seems to have developed from that of the

art of the Middle Ages or even of the early Middle Ages, for this feature was more pronounced in this country than in any other at that time and was not limited to Gothic truisms.



Fig. 15. Meister Bertram, the Wedding at Cana. Kunsthalle, Hamburg.

In the works of Meister Bertram, such for example as his Grabower altar of 1379 and his Buxtehuder altar (fig. 15) in the Gallery of Hamburg, we find already quite established this style, whose forms were to become universal about 1400 and shortly after. We notice the absence of idealism, the ugly and very pro-

nounced individual types, the free and easy attitudes, the care given to the *mise-en-scène* as well as to the costumes, architecture, furniture, ornaments and the landscape with animals in the background; in fact we find all these elements which I enumerated before as characteristic of the movement which is under discussion. I find the spirit and entire appearance of these works so thoroughly different from anything produced in Bohemia that I really do not see any reason to believe in the existence of a connexion between the painters of this country and Meister Bertram, as some writers have pouped.

In Bavaria and the Rhine district this style does not seem to have flourished until some time later, in fact not before 1400.

The adumbrative elements of this style are met with as much in France as in Italy. They are seen in miniatures of a purely French technique executed after the middle of the 14th century; although before the Netherlandish influence I do not think France produced any genuine "tableaux de genre". characteristic of international art of the beginning of the 15th century.

The individual facial lineaments and the unceremonious and more expressive attitudes are found for example in the Bible of Jean de Syte of about 1356, the "Bible historique" of Charles V of about 1363, in the "Grandes Heures" of the Duke of Berry, all in the National Library, Paris (mss. fr. 15397, 5707, Latin 919) and in the "Bible historique" of the same duke in the Arsenal Library, Paris (fr. 5058).

Faces of an exaggerated realism, natural landscapes and architecture in the backgrounds are shown in the miniatures of the "Maître aux Bouqueteaux", interesting examples of which are those in the manuscripts of the poems of Guillaume de Machaut (Bibl. Nat., ms. fr. 1584) (fig. 16), and the illuminations executed in a simpler manner, of the Bible of Charles VI and the Duke of Berry (Bibl. del'Arsenal 5212) and of the Titus Livy of Charles V (Bibl. Ste. Geneviève, 777).

The same artist illuminated in 1376 the codex of the "Cité de Dieu" (Bibl. Nat., ms. fr. 22912) (fig. 17) where again we notice the realistic landscapes and buildings in the background. The miniatures of the "Grandes Chroniques" of France of about 1379 (Bibl. Nat., ms., fr. 2813) more closely approach the "scènes de genre" on account of the very detailed manner in which the

costumes and the arrangement of the table are depicted in the miniature of the feast (fig. 18).

The miniaturists of the time of Charles V produced portraits of a pronounced personal character, such for instance as those of Charles V in the "Polycratique" of John of Salisbury of about

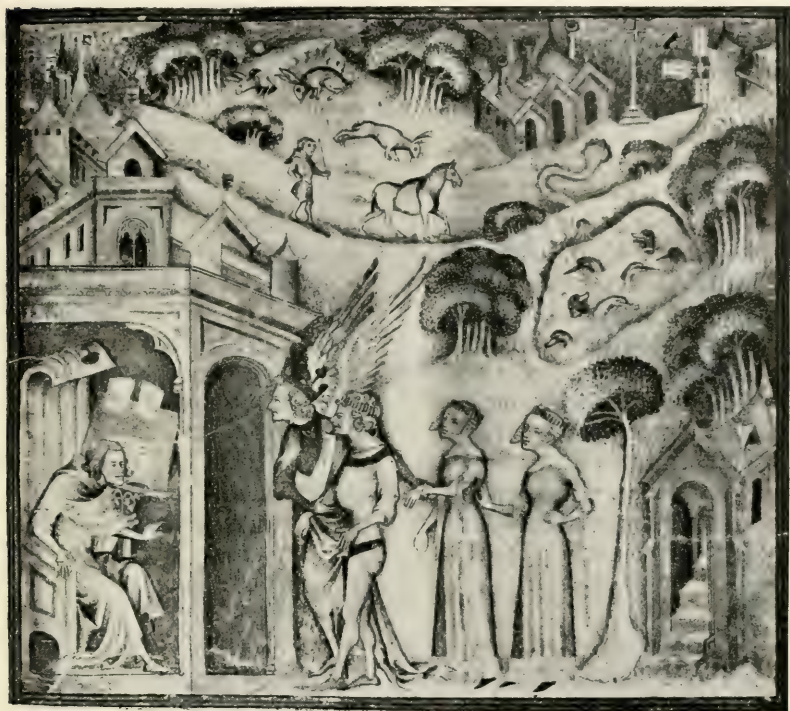


Fig. 16. "Maitre aux Boqueteaux", miniature, from the poetry by Guillaume de Machant. National Library, Paris.

Photo Catala.

1372; the same prince with Jeanne de Bourbon and Jean Golein in a "Rational des divins offices" of 1374 and again the same monarch with Jaques Bauchans in the "Livre des Voies de Dieu" of about 1380 and lastly Charles V and Jean de Vignay in a "jeu des échecs moralisé" (Bibl. Nat., ms. fr. 24287, 437; 1792, 1728). The types of faces in which the artist's desire to individualize the features has outbalanced aesthetic considerations, are noticeable

in the "Chroniques des Roys de France" (Bibl. de l'Arsenal, 5223) and in a "Miroir historial" of 1396 (Bibl. Nat., ms., fr. 312) (¹).

Unidealized, but life-like portraits, however, seem to have been executed at a still earlier period in France, at least that on panel of Jean II le Bon, now in the National Library, Paris, might have been painted about 1359 by Gerard d'Orléans, the king's private painter who followed his master when he was taken captive to England (fig. 19).



Fig. 17. "Maitre aux Boqueteaux", miniature, from the "Cité de Dieu".
National Library, Paris.

Photo Catala.

Consequently the style of miniature painting which united an almost crude realism in the portrayal of the features with a purely Gothic linear effect, flourished in France contemporaneously with the idealized Gothic art, originating from Simone Martini's manner.

The new manner, that of the northern Renaissance, appears

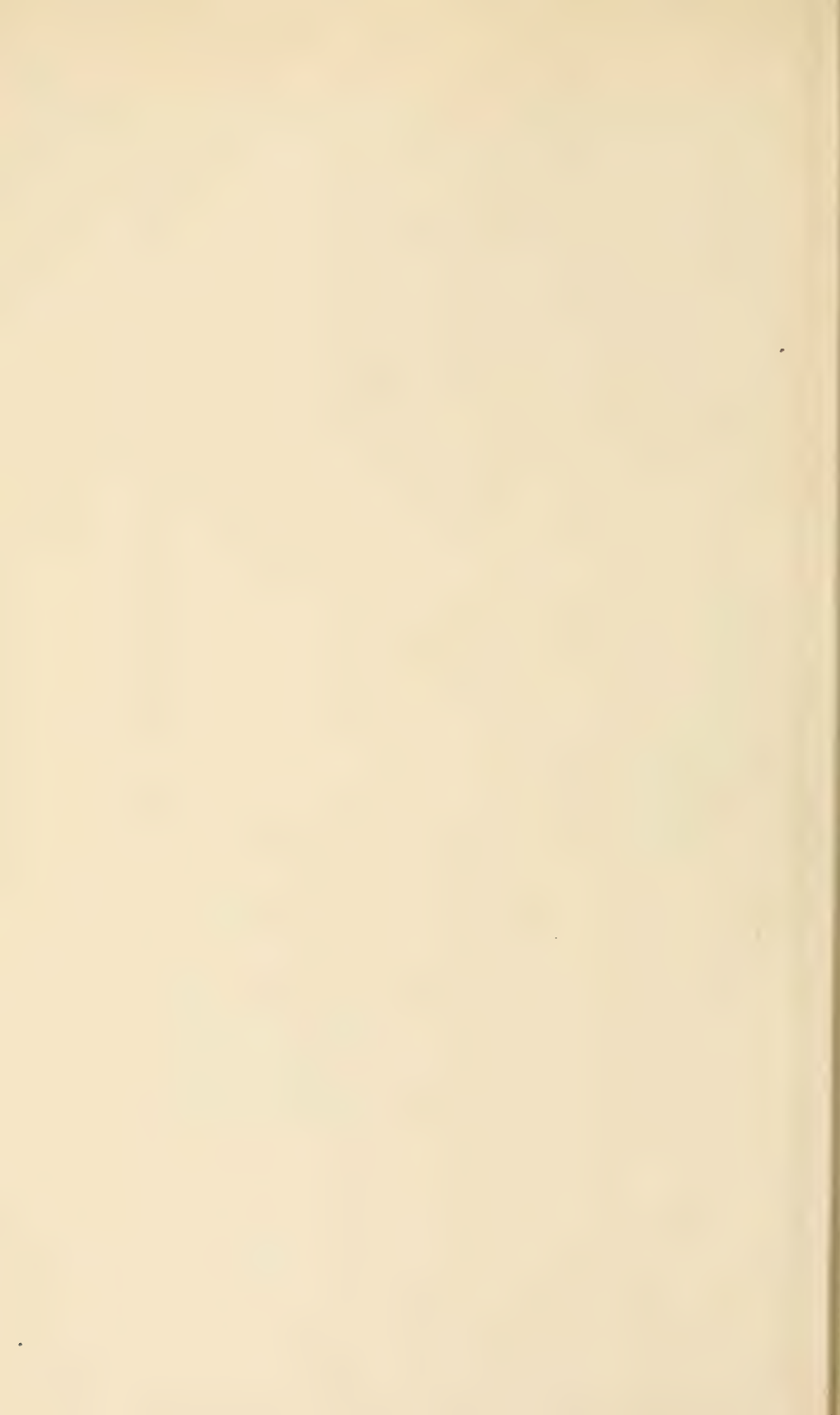
(¹) These miniatures which I have enumerated naturally form only a small part of the material which might be cited in support of my affirmation. They will be found reproduced in *H. Martin*, *La miniature française*, Paris—Brussels, 1923, pls. 44—65. Some other examples are published in *W. Drexel*, *Untersuchungen über die Französischen illuminierten Hss. der Jenaer Universitätsbibliothek*, Strasbourg, 1917.



MONTH OF AUGUST

*Miniature of about 1416 by Pol de Limbourg and his brothers,
Museum, Chantilly.*

Photo Giraudon.



rather suddenly in France with a series of highly important works executed exclusively by Netherlandish artists.

The Limbourg brothers, to whom reference has already been



Fig. 18. Miniature, before 1379, from the *Chronicles of France*.

National Library, Paris.

Photo Catala.

made, are transitional figures whom it would be difficult to place in a definite group. In the *Book of Hours of Chantilly* of about 1416 (pl. I and fig. 20) many elements, chiefly iconographical but also stylistic and morphological, seem to have been borrowed from Italian art and clearly reveal the artists' dependence on Simone Martini's current. On the other hand these miniatures have the appearance of "scènes de genre", so characteristic of international art of the beginning of the 15th century, while the natural

landscapes and architecture are sooner reminiscent of the artistic group of the northern Renaissance. Three miniatures, which show almost the same features, form part of the illustration of the Jewish Antiquities (Bibl. Nat. ms. fr. 247) which were executed at the same date and for the same prince as the Book of Hours of Chantilly.

Works which characterize this Renaissance in a more advanced stage of evolution are the lateral panels of Broederlam at Dijon (1390), the Book of Hours of the Maréchal de Boucicaut and other productions by the same artist who was employed by the Duke of Berry and who has frequently been identified with Jaques Coene de Bruges, and the Book of Hours of Turin or at least that part of it which was executed between 1415 and 1417 for William IV of Bavaria, Count of Holland, and which is often attributed, I think erroneously, to Hubert van Eyck. In the background of the miniatures by Jacquemart de Hesdin, in the Library of Brussels, so typical, as far as the figures are concerned, of the Franco-Sienese movement, we notice landscapes just as natural as those in the group of works belonging to the thoroughly realistic tendency. This group consequently is composed of Netherlandish works, executed between 1390 and 1417. It is true that in certain French miniatures of the time of Charles V, we remarked the beginning of this tendency, but there is too great a difference in the results obtained for us to speak here of a concatenation. The naturalism in the Netherlandish productions was quite a new factor.

It is moreover a factor which prevents us from including this group with the works which are under discussion. Together with the attempt towards realism in the reproduction of nature, there is a strong inclination to abandon the conventional drawing of the forms and this leads us in quite a different artistic direction. Claus Sluter, in the field of sculpture, sought the same freedom from the fetters of convention as his compatriots and contemporaries in painting. The acme of this movement is displayed in the art of the van Eyks, in which the realism overbalances the Gothic mannerism, while in the international art of the beginning of the 15th century it is the contrary, that is to say, the landscapes, as well as the figures, are always represented in a form which, before all, is Gothic.

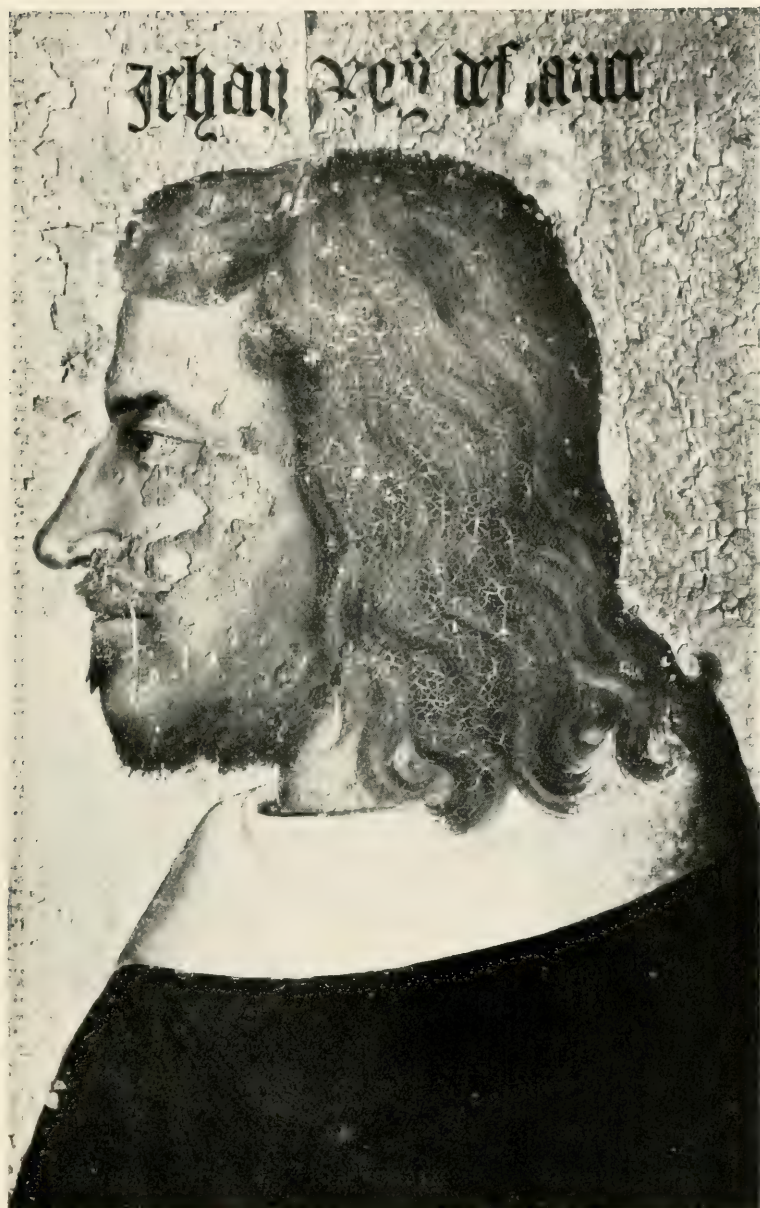


Fig. 19. Gerard d'Orleans?, circa 1359, portrait of King John II.
National Library, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

The difference between the Renaissance of the north and that of Italy consists in the fact that the latter was obtained by a return to classical forms while the northern Renaissance — except for those manifestations borrowed from Italy — seems to have been the result of an evolution and expansion of the Gothic verity of detail, an expansion which gradually included everything that enters into the field of human observation. For this reason the Renaissance in the north and in the south are two entirely different movements, not only in their origin but also in their future manifestation.

The rapidity with which the Renaissance in the Netherlands followed on the transformation of Gothic art of the end of the 14th century and beginning of the 15th accounts for the limited number of productions of the international style in these regions. From the point of view of realism, on which we ought to base our retrospective consideration of the evolution of European painting, artists like Broederlam, who in 1390 executed the panels of Dijon, or even the van Eyks, were half a century ahead of their Italian contemporaries, such for example as the last Trecentists of Florence and Siena, not to speak of the artists of the smaller centres.

Looking at it, on the other hand, from an idealistic point of view, with the belief that the Gothic forms have another but not a lesser merit than those of the Renaissance, it will be noticed that the schools of the north leaped the final phases of Gothicism, which all the same produced many exquisite works when the somewhat trivial side did not predominate.

In looking for the place in Central Europe where the painting of the second half of the 14th century best prepared the way to the international style of the beginning of the 15th century, we find that it was Northern Italy, more precisely that part of it to the west of Venice including Treviso, Padua, Verona and above all Lombardy which contained at that time a large part of the actual province of Emilia. The form of painting which paved the way to that of the "scènes de genre" of the beginning of the 15th century might be called humanistic and it was at the court of the Carrara in Padua and that of the Scala in Verona that this manner of pictorial art seems to have been favoured.



Fig. 20. Pol de Limbourg and his brothers, miniature, from the "Très Riches Heures" of the Duke of Berry, circa 1416. Condé Museum, Chantilly.

Photo Giraudon.

It is just in these regions, more than in any other part of Italy, that we notice the preference for profane painting. Besides the wars of the Old Testament, we know that subjects from classical antiquity were illustrated by Guariento and Avanzo in Padua as well as in Verona ⁽¹⁾. In the Eremitani church of Padua Guariento

(1) v. Vol. IV, pp. 111, 112 and 126.

painted the "seven ages of man" and Altichiero executed for the Scala, portraits of illustrious contemporaries, members of their family and the nobles of Padua and made as well a "hall of giants". The same artist painted marriage scenes for Count Sereghi in Verona (1). The drawings of the princes of Carrara in the "*Liber de principibus Carrariensibus*" belong to the same group of representations which have quite a historical character. Battle scenes were frescoed shortly after 1319 at Castelbarco, near Verona and at about the same time in the castle of Angera on the Lago Maggiore (2).

Profane paintings of a different kind are found in Lombardy. The castle of the Porro, near Lecco, was decorated with hunting scenes and in 1380 Gian Galeazzo Visconti ordered a similar ornamentation for his castle at Pavia (3). It is this category of painting that seems to have been particularly favoured in France. The frescoes in the vault of S. Bassiano at Lodi Vecchio, dating from 1323 and depicting oxen-drivers at their occupation, show us another phase in this form of pictorial art (4).

A tendency towards genre painting is noticeable in the works of Avanzo and Altichiero who, in their representation of religious subjects, united so many intimate details of every day life with a particular appreciation for all that was elegant; the dogs that are so frequently, and apparently for so little reason, depicted in their frescoes, belong to the suite of a seigneur. The same spirit will be discovered in the frescoes from the legend of St. Ursula at Treviso. But also the painters of a previous generation, such as Guariento and Semitecolo, paid much attention to the representation of architecture and did not neglect either the portrayal of contemporary costume; in the case of Altichiero and Avanzo these two elements, especially the architectural, assume a preponderating importance.

The same regions provide us with very significant examples of portraiture. In the church of S. Fermo in Verona there are some of an extraordinary realism, dating from between 1315 and 1325.

(1) v. Vol. IV, pp. 124-128.

(2) v. Vol. IV, pp. 181 and 207.

(3) v. Vol. IV, pp. 265, 269.

(4) v. Vol. IV, p. 210.

In Sta. Anastasia another of 1327 is preserved⁽¹⁾. The art of portrait painting was naturally encouraged by the commemorative frescoes of the school of Altichiero, examples of which are common in Padua but are found also in Verona⁽²⁾. There are many frescoes of the same variety in Lombardy but they belong to a different artistic movement, although the portraits are in no way less individual; the oldest of these works seems to date from about 1365⁽³⁾. It was from the art of portrait painting that the habit was derived of giving very individual faces to people either imaginary or at least whose actual appearance was unknown. A curious example of this tendency is the series of illustrious Dominican monks, executed in Treviso in 1352; I mention it on account of the obviousness of the instance even although the artist — Tommaso da Modena — was not one of the painters of this region, with whom we have to deal⁽⁴⁾.

Consequently it can be concluded that the art which developed in the north of Italy in the second half of the 14th century contained almost all the elements which constituted the international style of the beginning of the 15th century. Besides, not only was it in particular in Verona that towards the year 1400, paintings of the Madonna were executed, showing thrones of an elaborate Gothic style, belonging entirely to this art, but it should not be forgotten that it was this same town that produced Stefano da Verona and Pisanello, the former the most characteristic and the latter the greatest of the Italian painters belonging to this group.

Further, the north of Italy was an extremely suitable region for the centre of formation of an international movement, for to the one side France was easily accessible and to the other across the valleys of the Inn and the Adige, or in other words Tyrol, was Germany, while more to the east and to the north of Treviso lies Austria which led the way to Bohemia.

The painting of Tyrol clearly shows the mixture of Italian and German elements. Tyrol was the meeting ground of the two national currents and at the same time transmitted the factors of one school to the other. As I have already remarked the frescoes

⁽¹⁾ v. Vol. IV, pp. 180, 181.

⁽²⁾ v. Vol. IV, p. 152.

⁽³⁾ v. Vol. IV, p. 248 et seq.

⁽⁴⁾ v. Vol. IV, p. 356.

of about 1319 at Castelbarco, near Verona, have more the appearance of German productions than Italian, while the profane decorations of the end of the 14th century in the Tyrolese castles of Lichtenberg and Runkelstein, are executed sooner after the Italian style, and reveal the artists' interest in fashions and elegant costumes which we have noticed more than once to be a characteristic of the art which was on the eve of developing ⁽¹⁾.

Although the fact in itself that Tommaso da Modena was called to Bohemia is an indication of the international character of the artistic movement of his time, I see no reason to believe that his presence in this country was of transcendental importance for the influence of the Italian school on Bohemian art. He himself — as I have remarked elsewhere — went there about 1359, consequently at a too advanced stage in his career to be strongly affected by new influences ⁽²⁾. Bohemia on the other hand had already her own artists; Nicholas Wurmser and Theodoric of Prague were active in Karlstein before the probable date of the arrival of Tommaso, nevertheless certain works of Theodoric show that he was influenced by Tommaso.

Generally speaking I should say that Bohemian painting owes more to the French manner than to the Italian and I think it should sooner be admitted that a knowledge of Bohemian art is noticeable in the eastern corner of the north of Italy. Frescoes, like those executed probably between 1360 and 1372 in the cloister of the monastery of Emmaus at Prague and more particularly the painting of the Death of the Virgin in the church of Raudnitz obviously show a French influence; the mural paintings together with the illuminations of the Bible of King Wenceslaus reveal traces of their derivation from French miniature painting while the panel manifests more connexion with the Franco-Sienese style.

If on the one hand it be true that the art of northern Italy united a large number of elements, the fusion of which at the beginning of the 15th century resulted in the international style,

⁽¹⁾ The recently discovered frescoes in the Palazzo Nero at Coredò (Trentino) have a more German character, *A. Morassi*, Un nuovo ciclo di pittura profana nel Trentino, Bollet. d'Arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr., 1926, p. 449.

⁽²⁾ v. Vol. IV, p. 362.

it must be said that the same thing is found in France. Gerard d'Orléans, who died in 1361, was entrusted to paint scenes from the life of Cesar and lower down "bêtes et d'images" with hunting scenes near by, for King Jean of France in the castle of Vaudreuil. In the "hôtel de St. Paul" Charles V had a "chambre



Fig. 21. Miniature, beginning of the 15th century, from Gaston Phebus' book of the chase. National Library, Paris.

Photo Catala.

de Charlemagne", a "chambre de Thésée" and a "chambre de Matabrune" executed, the rooms being so called after the subjects of the decoration.

The subjects we find here are almost the same as those usually represented in Italy. The history of the Cesars was illustrated by Guariento and Avanzo in the Palazzo del Capitano del Popolo in Padua; Charlemagne is depicted at Runkelstein among the giants and no doubt also figured in the hall of giants that Giotto frescoed in Naples and Altichiero in Padua, as he does in the

series preserved in the Trinci Palace in Foligno (Umbria) and in the castle of Manta; in the two last places the inscription is in French. Similar series of giants or heroes were very much in vogue in France towards the end of the 14th century and begin-



Fig. 22. Miniature, beginning of the 15th century, from Gaston Phebus' book of the chase. National Library, Paris.

Photo Catala.

ning of the 15th and the subject at that time seems to have been a favourite one for designs for tapestries; but giants or famous warriors provided a motif for decoration apparently from the 11th century (¹). The romance of Matabruna appears, as will be seen later on, among the decorations of Italian cassoni of the early 15th century.

Thus we see that the same subjects were represented at Paris,

(¹) *P. d'Ancona*, *L'uomo e le sue opere nelle figurazione italiane del medioevo*, Florence, 1923, p. 141.



Fig. 23. French School, miniature, before 1419. British Museum.

in Tyrol, at Padua and in Umbria which once more confirms the fact that the movement was of quite an international character.

In France hunting scenes in woods and forests alive with

animals, subjects which would please a hunter, were highly favoured. As we saw, Gerard d'Orléans executed scenes of this nature in the castle of Vaudreuil.

In the "hôtel de St. Paul" at the time of Charles V, the queen's apartments were decorated with frescoes showing a large forest full of trees, shrubs and fruit and flower trees, among which children played, against a green background. In 1366 the same king had the large hall of the Louvre adorned with paintings of birds and other animals. A deer is depicted in "the large hall of the palace" and trees and deer on the panels of a litter made in 1380 ⁽¹⁾.

The best example of this kind of painting that has come down to us is the series of frescoes in the room of the wardrobe in the Palace of the Popes at Avignon, dating from about 1343 ⁽²⁾ and representing the different ways of hunting in very scrubby woods; the figures, however, are very Sieneese in appearance and the sketches for this decoration were in all probability made by the Italian masters who went there to work. Nevertheless comparing these frescoes with others which still exist and with descriptions of those which are lost ⁽³⁾, we find it very likely that this manner of decoration was decidedly French. The charming miniatures of the beginning of the 15th century found their origin in this kind of painting; a fine example is the "Livre de la Chasse" of Gaston Phebus (Bibl. Nat., ms. fr. 616) (figs. 21 and 22), sometimes attributed, without any reason, to Hancelin de Hagenau. Nor was it unknown in Italy. I have just cited the decoration in the castle of the Porro, near Lecco, and that ordered by one of the Visconti in 1380, but the examples are not limited to these two works in Lombardy where a French influence naturally had easy access, for the frescoes in the "Turmhalle" of Meran show similar representations of forests and in fact certain of the backgrounds of Pisanello's pictures, such for instance as the vision of St Eustace, are not in any way different. The drawings of animals, particularly of those hunted or of dogs, that this artist has left behind, were no doubt inspired by an interest for the same subject.

⁽¹⁾ v. *P. Durrieu*, *Histoire de l'art*, directed by A. Michel, III, 1, p. 111.

⁽²⁾ *R. André-Michel*, *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie*, Paris, 1920, p. 29.

⁽³⁾ *R. André-Michel*, *op. cit.*, p. 35.



Fig. 24. French School, beginning of the 15th century, the Crucifixion. Bachofen Burckhardt Museum. Basel.

Photo Hoflinger.

The wide spread dissemination of this class of representation, for we have found it throughout France, in Lombardy, Tyrol and Verona, once more confirms the denomination of international or cosmopolitan art.

Now that we have considered the origins and international preparations for the incubation of this style, it should be demonstrated by means of examples the strange and general way in which, at the beginning of the 15th century, it spread throughout the different and very diverse countries and the not less extraordinary resemblance which unites the artistic productions of the farthest corners of Europe.

Examples in France are not extremely numerous and this can be accounted for by the fact that the northern Renaissance dominated French art almost as soon as it made its appearance in these regions, situated to the north of France. In the works executed for the Duke of Berry, however, we find a good many elements characteristic of this style but at the same time mingled with other factors. The miniatures of Pol de Limbourg and his brothers at Chantilly, for instance, have quite the appearance of "scènes de genre" and show also the Gothic line which is never absent in productions of international art of the beginning of the 15th century, but intermingled with these features we find here in the backgrounds the realism of the Renaissance, with a dramatic spirit, an iconography and morphological types of Italian origin.

Nevertheless French miniatures, executed in this style, which we are at present discussing, are not wanting. Among the finest and most representative are those in the "Livre de la Chasse" of Gaston Phebus in the National Library, Paris (ms. fr. 166) which I have just mentioned; others are found in the "Bible historique" of the Duke of Berry (5058), in the missal of St. Maglaire, dating from before 1412 and in the "Térence des ducs" of about 1415, all in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris⁽¹⁾. The miniatures of about 1412 in the Dialogues of Pierre Salmon, which is preserved in the Library of Geneva, might be cited as another example (fr. 165)⁽²⁾. Of the French miniatures in the British Museum we

⁽¹⁾ *H. Martin*, op. cit., pls. 75, 79–80, 91.

⁽²⁾ *H. Martin*, pl. 90.



Fig. 25. French School, circa 1410, Louis of Anjou, King of Naples National Library, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

might mention those in the Poems of Christine de Pisan (Harley 4431)⁽³⁾, in the Psalm Book of Henri VI of about 1425—1430 (Cotton ms. Domitian A. VII); in a missal dating from the first years of the 15th century, which was executed for John, Duke of

⁽³⁾ *H. Martin*, op. cit., pl. 87.

Burgundy, consequently prior to 1419 (Harley mss. 2897) (fig. 23) and in the Prayer book of the Duke of Bedford of about 1430 (Add. ms. 18850). The Breviary of Salisbury in the National Library, Paris (ms. Lat. 17294) was executed for the same prince, but in 1433 was not yet finished⁽¹⁾.

Miniatures apart, there are very few actual paintings executed in this style. Those made for Jacques Coeur in his palace at Bourges might be classified in this group but they are not a very characteristic sample of this manner. A panel, probably of French origin and belonging to the international style is the Crucifixion in the Bachofen-Burckhardt Museum in Basel (fig. 24), and we might also include the Madonna della Misericordia in the Museum of Le Puys, originating from the Carmelite convent of the same town and shown at the exhibition of French primitives, and the portrait in water-colours of about 1410, representing Louis II of Anjou, King of Sicily and Jerusalem in the Print Room of the National Library, Paris (fig. 25).

Some examples of French miniatures after this style might be cited but their number would never be very considerable. To the north of France works of art belonging to this movement are practically unknown on account of the rapid development of the Renaissance; still we might mention the drawings of the beginning of the 15th century, in the British Museum, illustrating the voyages of Sir John Manderville (Add. ms. 24189) (fig. 26).

English works belonging to this style are few in number. Besides, as we have just seen, many of the miniatures adorning the books of the English princes were executed in France. An English miniature showing some connexion with the international style is that dating probably from between 1408 and 1414, which is found in a fragment of a dictionary executed for John, fifth Lord Lovel of Tichmersh in the British Museum (Harley ms. 7026).

Many paintings of this style were executed in Spain. Those at Majorca that M. Bertaux described, are, as this much regretted critic remarked, rather Italianized⁽²⁾. They are not so characteristic of this group, however, as the triptych with a predella and

(1) *P. Durrieu*, in *L'Histoire de l'art*, directed by A. Michel, IV, 2, p. 706.

(2) *E. Bertaux*, *Les primitifs espagnols*, *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, 1908 and *The Same*, op. cit.



Fig. 26 Miniature, Flemish School, early 15th century, Manderville's travels.
British Museum.

pinnacles showing the Crucifixion as central figuration and dating from about 1400, and the triptych with St. Martin in the centre of about 1425, now both in the Museum of Valencia but originally in the Chartreuse of Porta Coeli. Some panels of a triptych, showing the Crucifixion and the legend of the True

Cross, which were brought from the same monastery to this museum, might almost pass for paintings of Italian workmanship. The archaic frescoes of about 1400 which decorate the ceilings of the three alcoves of the Alhambra have nothing in common with international art, nor with the Giottesque tradition although M. Bertaux finds a certain resemblance between the one and the other.

On the other hand I feel inclined to consider as productions of the international style the Last Judgment in the vault of the old cathedral of Salamanca, executed after 1445, and more intrinsically the enormous altar-piece which adorns the entire apse. It seems to me difficult to admit that the fresco and the multitudinous panels are from the same hand, but it is highly likely that the painter of the Last Judgment who, in the contract, is called Nicolao Florentino is the same as Dello di Nicola and this I think is true, chiefly on account of the documentary evidence⁽¹⁾.

The most typical Spanish productions of this movement were executed in Catalonia in the first quarter of the 15th century, and the majority of them was attributed to Luis Borassa by S. Sanpere y Miguel⁽²⁾. I think this critic was rather liberal with the name of this artist and several of the panels have since been ascribed to Pere Serra and to other masters by M. E. Bertaux⁽³⁾.

The accuracy of these attributions is not of capital importance to us at the present moment. From an inspection of Catalan paintings of the beginning of the 15th century, we discover, in a very evident manner, that the international style was largely represented.

One of the most characteristic works is the panel of king Abgar before SS. Simon and Judas, an authentic painting of Borassa, dating from 1415 (fig. 27) in which the Gothic style of the drawing as well as the spirit of the "scène de genre" is very pronounced.

In the works of Benito Martorell, who was active in the second quarter of the 15th century, there are traces of the idealized,

(1) *E. Bertaux*, op. cit., p. 758.

(2) *S. Sanpere y Miguel*, *Les Cuatrocentistas Catalanes*, I, Barcelona, 1906, p. 106.

(3) *E. Bertaux*, op. cit., p. 749.



Fig. 27. Borassa, Abgar before SS. Simon and Judas. Episcopal Museum, Vich.

Photo Thomas.

Franco-Sienese Gothicism which we looked for in vain in Spanish art of the end of the previous century. The Virgin and Child in the midst of angels, perhaps by Nicolas Verdera and in that

case dating from 1406, in the Museum of Vich, is reminiscent at the same time, of the Rhine school and the manner of the Umbrian artist, Ottaviano Nelli (fig. 28).

There are a good many other Spanish works belonging to this tendency but I shall mention only two of them: the embroidered altar front of San Juan de las Abadesas, now in the Museum of Vich and the painting of St. John the Baptist with scenes from his legend, a work of the Catalan school, now in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris (fig. 29), because, as M. Bertaux has remarked, the figures of the former show a very marked resemblance in style to the Apostles in the miniatures of Beauneveu, while the latter recalls the miniatures made for the Duke of Berry, only showing landscape backgrounds as highly developed as those from the brush of the best Netherlandish painters.

Rapports of an international character were not wanting in Spain. Not only was the Italian element represented by Nicholas Florentino but in the first years of the 15th century there was already in Catalonia the superb altar cloth embroidered by Geri Lapi of Florence, now in the cathedral of Manresa, which is a very typical Tuscan production of the 14th century. Besides as we have already seen Starnina, the Florentine painter was in Spain from 1380 until 1387⁽¹⁾ and a Sienese influence has just been noticed in certain Spanish paintings of the first half of the 15th century.

The relationship with France was formed perhaps chiefly through Charles III "El Noble", King of Aragon, who was born at Mantes in France and who went frequently to Paris. French tapestries were imported and even French workmen were brought to Spain to execute them there. It is known that the French painters Robin, Baudet and Perrinet adorned Spanish castles with the illustrations of "Histoires" which word probably indicates representations of a profane nature. Among the painters there was a certain Anequin from Brussels, while in 1393, Nicolas of Bruxelles, a painter, was a citizen of Barcelona. In 1386 the King of Navarra tried to make the portraitist "Jaco Tuno" — perhaps Jaques Coenen — come from Paris. In 1427 Janin Lome from Tournay sculptured a tomb for a chancellor of Charles "El

(1) v. Vol. III, p. 556 and Vol. V, p. 478.

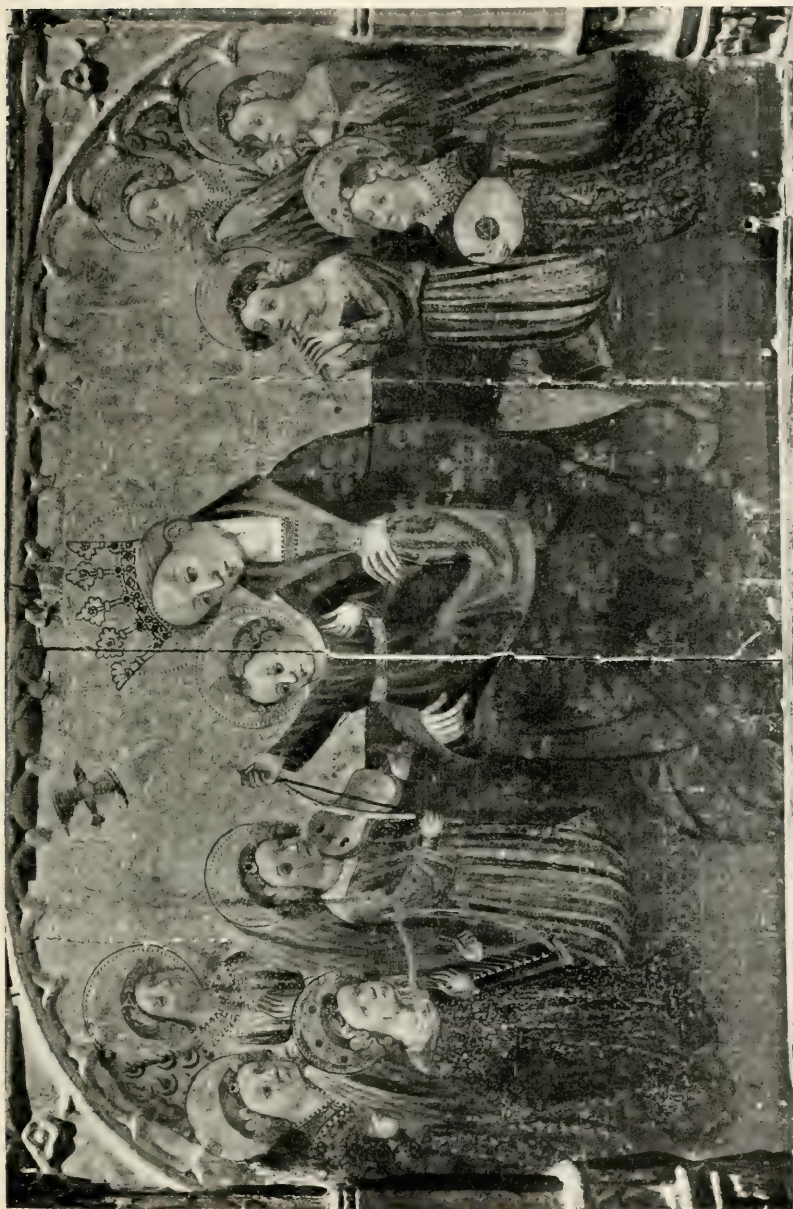


Fig. 28. Nicolas Verdera?, Virgin, Child and angels. Museum, Vich.

Noble", in the cathedral of Tudela. An archbishop of Calahorra had some full-page miniatures executed in 1390 in a missal now in the Colombian Library, Seville, which show a connexion in style with the French illumination of the time of Charles VI. A Crucifixion in the Chapter Room of the cathedral of Barcelona markedly resembles the productions of the miniaturists who worked for the Duke of Berry.

Germany, too, had its representatives in Spain, for in 1396 an "Andres Marçal de Sax" was charged with the execution of frescoes, depicting the Last Judgment, Paradise and Hell in the council room of Valencia, and in 1407-1408 a Nicolas Marçal worked on the island of Majorca⁽¹⁾.

It was doubtless at this moment that the Spanish princes took a fancy to Flemish painting for which they show such a strong liking throughout the 15th century.

Germanic countries were in such close and uninterrupted rapport with France, Flanders and Italy that it would be useless to search for any special reason to explain the adoption on the part of the German artists of a style so wide-spread in the rest of Europe.

As I said before, Cologne felt, more than any other German town, the influence coming from France in the 14th century but the international style of the beginning of the 15th century spread throughout the whole of Germany.

In the north the principal works are the altar-piece of the Passion at Wismar, a very early example of this movement in Germany, and the Tempziner altar-piece in the Museum of Schwerin which is a very characteristic work. Meister Francke belonged to the following generation, that of the Renaissance, although he still kept to the Gothic line without however being dominated by it.

I have already mentioned Meister Bertram as an immediate precursor of this movement which seems to have had its repercussion also in Scandinavia although at a somewhat later date. At Torshälla, Vadsbro and Ösmo there are frescoes dating from

(1) These facts are published by *E. Bertaux*, op. cit., p. 769 et seq.



Fig. 29. Catalan School, beginning of the 15th century, the death of the Baptist.
Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

about 1450 or shortly after, in which elements of this style, rendered however in rather a crude manner, can be recognized⁽¹⁾.

(¹) *S. Wallin*, in *Studier i Upplands Kyrkliga Konst*, I, Stockholm, 1918, p. 84.

In Hanover and Saxony in the north-east of Germany this art is exemplified in the Crucifixion in the church of S. Lambert in Hildesheim and the Crucifixion of 1424 by Heinrich von Duderstadt in the Museum of Hanover.

In Westphalia the international style was represented by one of Germany's most important painters viz. Conrad von Soest, whose fine altar-piece of 1404 is preserved at Wildungen; there is quite a group of works belonging to the school of Soest and Westphalia among which there are some very significant (fig. 30).

In and around Cologne we find at this period the adherents of the school of the Veronica Meister who, as I said before, was a partisan of the idealized Sienese manner, as it was interpreted by the French masters. A striking exception, however, is shown in some frescoes, detached from a house in Cologne and now in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum (No. 340), representing scenes from the story of the cruel son who ill-treats his father. The subject, spirit, *mise-en-scène* and costumes are all very characteristic of this style but the technique is considerably inferior.

Stephan Lochner plays the same rôle here as Meister Francke did in the north; he was the artist who emancipated painting from the Gothic limitations, as the van Eycks, but in a more transcendent manner, did for Netherlandish art.

Going up the Rhine we find traces of a Franco-Sienese influence, doubtless emanating from Cologne, in the previously mentioned altar-piece of Friedburg in the Museum of Darmstadt (fig. 31), in the Crucifixion in the church of St. Stephen at Mainz and in the retable of Scholten in Hessen. Nevertheless some very beautiful productions of the Upper Rhine are typical of the international current, such for example as the Ostenberg altar-piece in the Museum of Darmstadt and the "Garden of Paradise" in the Municipal Museum of Frankfort a. M., both dating from the first quarter of the 15th century, as do also the curious frescoes in the cathedral of Constance which, however, are of a very crude technique ⁽¹⁾.

Perhaps these paintings executed in the Upper Rhine district should be considered from the point of view of style as an inter-

(1) *J. Gramm*, Spätmittelalterliche Wandgemälde im Konstanzer Münster, Strasbourg, 1905.



Fig. 30. School of Soest, the Crucifixion and other scenes from the Life of Christ. St. Paul's church, Soest.
Photo. Bruckmann.

mingling of the school of Cologne, which derived from the Franco-Sienese current and Franconian painting of the beginning of the 15th century, in which traces of an influence of the Bohemian school can be discovered. This influence is noticeable in many of the stained glass windows in particular but also in the frescoes of about 1400 in the church of St. Sebaldus in Nuremberg, in the triptych showing the Crucifixion of a slightly later date, in the church of St. John, in a series of panels with scenes from the lives of the Saviour and Virgin and markedly in a picture of the Massacre of the Innocents, all in the gallery of the same town⁽¹⁾; or again in the Bamberg altar of 1429 in the National Museum of Munich (fig. 32). The same style is represented in the Museum of Bamberg and important miniatures belonging to this manner are preserved in the libraries of Nuremberg and Karlsruhe.

The examples of the genuine international style that are found in southern Bavaria and Austria are not of very great importance. They exist however. Some show an intermingling of this movement and the idealized Gothic style; the influence of Bohemian art is particularly evident in Austrian miniatures. On the other hand a large number of paintings, very typical of the international current, were executed in Tyrol but these will be dealt with together with the productions of the school of Verona.

Although this introduction may seem a little long, it will be understood from what follows, how necessary it was to emphasize to what extent this late Gothic art of the beginning of the 15th century was spread throughout Europe and also to point out clearly its origins and correlations in the different countries, in order to appreciate thoroughly the Italian painting belonging to this movement.

Although there are certain differences which separate this style into several principal groups, there are all the same still more elements which unite them. These have already been enumerated, but now that we have glanced at the works which belong to this style, I should like to sum up the principal features once more. The first is the curious mixture of domination of the

⁽¹⁾ C. Gebhardt, *Die Anfänge der Tafelmalerei in Nürnberg, Strasbourg*, 1908.



Fig. 31. Upper Rhenish School, the Adoration of the Magi, from the Friedberg altar. Museum, Darmstadt.

Photo Wartz,

Gothic line in the forms, and interest in the details of every day life, resulting in "scènes de genre" more refined, although not less minutely observed than the works of Jan Steen, but rendered in quite a conventional manner. Of mediæval art the painters retained frequently, besides the Gothic line, that indifference to

background and perspective which was still often solved by a gold background. The composition and action are shown generally parallel with the surface of the picture, moreover compositions with the central figure on an imposing throne and the architecture forming a frame, indicating but not representing the site of action, was even then several centuries old.

The element of the Renaissance, which entered into this art, was the interest in human beings as individuals, their personal appearance, faces, costumes and daily occupations and this interest was extended also to nature, animals, plants and flowers.

Another new feature was the intimacy between the spectator and figures represented; the latter were no longer austere and distant but depicted as contemporaries of high rank. The object of the picture was no longer only that of veneration and didacticism, but it became also a pleasing ornament.

Many elements, although not very perspicuous on account of the thoroughly international character which this art attained, seem to have originated in the north of Italy and France. Apart from the arguments in favour of a French origin which I have mentioned before, it should not be forgotten that the costumes that are depicted with so much persistence in almost all the productions of this style, were French fashions. The method of slashing the borders of the garments in order to form a scallop with multiple points called "fripes" was without doubt of French origin, started in the second half of the 14th century ⁽¹⁾. This fashion, it is true, is found in other countries, but the mode, even then, was set by France where the courts of the kings, and of the Dukes of Berry and Burgundy were the most brilliant and most refined, and followed by the whole civilized world. Fashions and the style of painting were so closely connected that the country that created the one could hardly help producing the other.

As I said at the beginning of this introduction, the spreading of the international style in the early 15th century was as general as that of the Byzantine manner in a previous generation. It must be admitted that in this case there were more national nuances; the French worked sooner after the manner of the illustration of

(1) *C. Enlart, Manuel d'Archéologie française, III: Le Costume, Paris, 1916, p. 85.*



Fig. 32. The Bamberger altar, 1429. National Museum, Munich.

an intimate or gallant episode, the Germans revealed their sentimental and lyric side while the Italians produced scenes of such a vivacity that they sometimes lacked distinction. These differences, however, were of but secondary importance and hardly at all diminished the homogeneousness of the enormous ensemble which was created and which spread to other branches of art, such as sculpture and architecture, and even also to literature.

CHAPTER II.

LOMBARDY, PIEDMONT AND EMILIA.

With regard to Lombard painting ⁽¹⁾ we find all the matter united in Signor Toesca's superb work. Nevertheless in treating the subject in a study of a more general character than this savant, whose volume is limited to Lombardy alone, a fair number of new considerations arise.

As in all painting of Northern Italy in the 14th century, that of Lombardy also had its human and individual side markedly pronounced.

We found numerous portraits in the votive and commemorative frescoes, excuted in Lombardy in the 14th century, similar to those of Verona and Padua and this interest for the individual was continued in the art of 15th century in Northern Italy. We also saw that representations from the lives of noblemen or knights set in surroundings which give the paintings the character of "scènes de genre", were very popular in these regions in the Trecento and these are other elements typical of the art of the beginning of the following century.

Another factor which differentiates Gothic painting of the beginning of the 15th century in Northern Italy from that of the rest of the peninsula, is the importance given to profane decoration and in particular the characteristics of this branch of ornamentation. Already in the 14th century scenes of battle and chivalry were depicted and among the latter the chase was naturally a favourite subject. In the 15th century, however, representations not only of the chase but all those in which vegetation and ani-

⁽¹⁾ *F. Malaguzzi Valeri*, *Pittori lombardi del Quattrocento*, Milan, 1902.
P. Toesca, *La Pittura e la miniatura nella Lombardia etc.*, Milan, 1910.
V. Costantini, *La pittura lombarda*, Milan, 1922.

imals played a rôle, seem to have been more highly favoured than in the previous century.

Signor Toesca has pointed out the number and importance of the Lombard albums of sketches, the most interesting of which is that of Giovannino de' Grassi in the Biblioteca Civica of Bergamo; certain works from the hand of Pisanello really belong to this class of drawings. I do not think that these works should be considered merely as sketches for decoration but rather as studies of a natural science order, the need of satisfying an almost intellectual curiosity, and the desire to reproduce rare animals which once in the painter's sketch-book ended by forming part of a general decoration.

This interest for "fauna et flora" had in itself nothing very characteristic of the new epoch; on the contrary it was of a thoroughly mediaeval nature and can be traced back to a very early age. Already in the first centuries of the Christian era, animals were given an unusual significance in the Greek Physiologus on account of the part they played in Christian symbolism. From the Greek Physiologus originated the "Bestiare" which was frequently illustrated in the French churches of the Middle Ages, particularly when interpreted in the "Speculum Ecclesiae" by Honorius d'Autun. Moreover "Le Miroir de la Nature" by Vincent de Bauvais, the "De Bestiis et Aliis rebus" by Hugue de St. Victor and the 10th or 11th century collection which goes under the name of "La Clef de Mélon" only helped to draw attention to, and increase the interest in animals. Real and chimerical beasts were depicted chiefly as allegorical figures but also the most curious and most unlikely details of their nature, life and habits were illustrated.

Another factor which aroused considerable interest in animals was the writing of fables which, even more than theological treatises, were wide-spread throughout all classes of society. The material provided by the classical authors of fables, such as Phædus, Æsop, and Romulus, was further increased by the apologues of the Middle Ages, by those in particular of Renard the fox.

Figurative art possesses innumerable examples of the illustration of these fables and of the "Bestiaire" or of the "Speculum Ecclesiae" by Honorius d'Autun. These examples are not limited to France alone but are found also in Northern Italy as we shall

see later on. It seems certain that the chimerae of Romanesque sculpture are interpretations or even copies of oriental motifs and they have no connexion with the Gothic representation of plants and animals which on the contrary are very true to nature. There are of course some reproductions of grotesque monsters on which there exists quite a special literature, but there seems to have been a real interest in the genuine appearance of animals. We see the better known beasts, for example, in the different series of reliefs representing the months and there are some very accurate reproductions of animals on the cathedral of Lyons. The ornamentation of the cathedral of Sens includes some figures of animals among which an elephant, an ostrich and a camel mounted by Africans are depicted.⁽¹⁾

The sketchbook of Villard de Honnecourt⁽²⁾, an architect of the first half of the 13th century, is of primary importance for the study which was made at this time of exotic animals, for among the drawings made in connexion with his profession, there are numerous sketches of beasts. It seems probable that if the artist put them in his album it was doubtless with the intention of making use of them one day for the decoration of some palace. However, the drawings are made from nature as he himself in certain cases informs us. The choice of subjects is rather curious. There are many birds of all sorts, a snail, a bear, insects, some horses chiefly with manes, a study of an equine head, dogs, and a deer, while of the exotic animals we find, lions, two ostriches and parrots. Villard de Honnecourt informs us on two different occasions that he sketched the lion from nature and he even makes a short description of the tamer's feats with the beast. The representations of lion-hunting are in all probability purely imaginary; but he must also have seen real ostriches, as well as parrots, one of which he depicts perched on a lady's finger. Even at that early date then, parrots were domestic pets. In the same sketchbook there are several pages dedicated to elegant seigneurs and warriors, so that we have here an abridged edition of all that the Lombard

⁽¹⁾ For earlier examples v. *E. Male*, *L'art religieux du 12^{ème} siècle en France*, Paris, 1922, p. 332. *Idem*, *L'art religieux du 13^{ème} siècle en France*, Paris, 1902, p. 43.

⁽²⁾ MS. français 19093 de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, published in reproduction, Paris, no date.

sketchbooks and that of Pisanello contained at a later date. An interesting intermediate example of a similar set of drawings is found in an English sketchbook of the later 14th century in the Pepysian Library ⁽¹⁾.

But already long before this France as well as Italy possessed not only excellent reproductions of animals but also a type of representation which is not shown in the sketchbook of Villard de Honnecourt and which all the same was of great importance in profane decoration: viz hunting with a pack of hounds. During the Romanesque period, the preference for chimerae was so pronounced that animals after nature were rarely depicted but they are more frequent in Italy than in France. Moreover it was nearly always hunting scenes that were represented ⁽²⁾ but the huntsmen are invariably seen on foot, for the mounted huntsman chasing the deer seems to have been an invention of a much later date ⁽³⁾. However this subject is found as early as 1250 in a French miniature ⁽⁴⁾ and became apparently an iconographical type, perpetuated in the different series of scenes illustrating chivalrous life, for almost an identical composition — two knights, one blowing a horn, the other gesticulating, riding behind a hound giving chase to a stag — is repeated at the end of the 14th century in the different illustrated codices of "Le livre de la chasse" by Gaston Phebus ⁽⁵⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Published by *M. R. James*, Walpole Society, XIII, 1925.

⁽²⁾ Of the end of the 11th century we find in S. Martin at Annay, in France, a frieze in which a lion figures, also the capitals of the same church, show animals (*Martin*, *L'art romain en France*, I, pls. LX, LXIII). Dating from the 12th century in Italy might be cited the carving in the cathedral of Parma, the white on black frieze in S. Michele, Lucca, the frieze on the outside of S. Zeno, Verona, as well as some sculpture in the crypt and the carving of animals on the outside of the cathedral of the same town. Of the 13th century there are the decorative frescoes of hunting scenes in the church of S. Pietro, Assisi, beasts with knights on horseback on the cathedral of Borgo S. Donino, while the cathedrals of Parma and Verona and the church of S. Pietro, outside Spoleto, are adorned with 12th century sculptures illustrating fables.

⁽³⁾ The mounted huntsman holding a falcon in his hand is found depicted, however, as early as the 11th century.

⁽⁴⁾ *Vie et histoire de Saint Denys*, MS. français N.A. 1098 de la Bibliothèque Nationale, published in reproduction, Paris, no date, pl. XXII.

⁽⁵⁾ *H. Martin*, *La miniature française du XIII au XV siècle*, Paris—Bruxelles, 1923, pl. 83. *Livre de la Chasse* par Gaston Phebus, comte de Foix, Bibliothèque Nationale. MS. français 616, published in reproduction. Paris, no date, pls. 50, 51, 53, 56.

A motif of animals is not so common as is generally believed in the decorative borders of miniatures. As such, birds are seen and sometimes even a huntsman loosing an arrow at them, and also butterflies; it will be noticed that these same beasts are depicted in aquarelles of Northern Italy in rather a miniature-like manner. There are also some examples of peacocks ⁽¹⁾ which are shown so frequently in Pisanello's drawings.

I cannot afford to devote the space that would be necessary for a complete demonstration of the interest that was taken in animals during the Middle Ages, so I shall limit myself to that concerning Italian art.

In a previous volume I have already mentioned the frescoes depicting hunting scenes that were executed in Northern Italy in the second half of the 14th century. In Lombardy the best known example is the decoration of the castle of Pavia, begun by Gian Galeazzo Visconti in 1380, in which the chief motifs were animals and important personages ⁽²⁾ and their social organisation of a decidedly feudal nature to which the nobles of the northern provinces so strictly adhered and which encouraged this form of art, while in the more democratic and bourgeois Central Italy there was no inciting reason for its existence and consequently any manifestation of this branch of figurative art is almost completely lacking ⁽³⁾.

The chase was an amusement in which the nobles were passionately interested. It was a daily pastime. Treatises on the chase are very numerous, and many of these writings treat the subject in such a very detailed manner that even the diseases of dogs and falcons, and the means of curing them, are minutely described. I think that the decoration of castles was, particularly at the beginning, borrowed from the miniatures which illustrate these volumes, several of which I shall mention in this chapter.

Besides, apart from the chase, the Italians of the 15th century were interested in animals from the point of view of natural

⁽¹⁾ *H. Martin*, op. cit., 90, in a miniature of 1412.

⁽²⁾ *C. Dell' Aqua*, Il palazzo ducale Visconti a Pavia, Pavia, 1874. *V. Magenta*, I Visconti e gli Sforza nel Castello di Pavia, Milan, 1883.

⁽³⁾ An example of studies of birds in Central Italy is made known to us from the fact that Lorenzo Ghiberti lent "la charte des oiseaux" to a goldsmith: *A. Venturi*, Storia dell' arte italiana, VII¹, p. 252.

science. Collections of strange animals were made in the same way as plants and even specimens of exotic races were collected.

Assemblages of wild beasts seem to have existed in all the Italian towns of any importance. Lions were the most common, but reference is made also to bears, crocodiles, giraffes, zebras, leopards, which were used for the chase ⁽¹⁾, and elephants. Even Petrarch mentions the possession of monkeys and other strange animals ⁽²⁾.

In 1453, leopards, lions, bears, musk cats and ostriches were kept in the park of Pavia. In 1452 the Bey of Tunis sent to Francesco Sforza, horses, dogs, falcons, a camel and a lion. Parrots seem to have been fairly common ⁽³⁾.

After these remarks, it becomes less surprising that animals take such a preponderating place in the numerous sketchbooks of the early Lombard artists. These drawings were used probably for the illustrations of treatises on the chase or for profane decorations and I think more commonly for the latter purpose, because frequently we see in the same albums, studies of persons, often very elegant, who would have been thoroughly suitable for the decorative frescoes of castles or palaces.

In finishing the chapter on Lombard painting of the 14th century in the fourth volume of this work, I stopped a few decades before the end of the century because the international Gothic style appeared in Lombardy at this moment, that is to say earlier than in any other part of Italy and with this new movement the veritable art of the Quattrocento started.

In spite of such excellent painters as Giovanni da Milano and the anonymous artist to whom we owe the panels illustrating the legend of S. Stephen in the Gallery of Frankfort a. M. ⁽⁴⁾, we

⁽¹⁾ It has sometimes been doubted whether leopards were really used for hunting. The fact that they are represented with a collar practically confirms this statement. They are moreover found reproduced very frequently: v. *J. Camus*, *Les guépards chasseurs en France au XVe et XVIe siècle*, *Feuilles des jeunes naturalistes*, XVIII, 1888, No. 214. *F. Malaguzzi Valeri*, *La Corte di Ludovico il Moro*, I, Milan, 1913, p. 729.

⁽²⁾ *Burckhardt*, *Die Kultur des Renaissance in Italien*, Part IV, Chap. II.

⁽³⁾ *Malaguzzi Valeri*, loc. cit.

⁽⁴⁾ Vol. IV, p. 259.

cannot affirm that the Gothic style of the 15th century showed traces of such an advanced stage of preparation as to explain its appearance in this region a quarter of a century before it is seen elsewhere. Even if some Gothic elements are already found fairly markedly pronounced in Lombard miniatures, that seems to me due to the same phenomenon which determined the early appearance of the international Gothic style in the painting of Lombardy, viz. a French influence.

The rapport between France and Italy was certainly not only confined to this influence emanating from the former country; on the contrary Signor Toesca has already called our attention to the expression "ouvrage de Lombardie" ⁽¹⁾, an expression which is frequently repeated in the inventories of the Duke of Berry. It is true that neither this author nor any other has been able to offer a very precise and certain explanation of this phrase, nevertheless I think it will be granted that if this French term was used to designate a certain manner of miniature painting, the French must have had in mind a style or manner originating from the region which towards the year 1400 went under the name of Lombardy and which was considerably larger then than the actual province, including, as it did, among other fragments of adjacent regions, a large part of Emilia.

It seems to me highly likely that under the expression "ouvrage de Lombardie" they included in France just these sketches and miniatures of animals, a certain number of which has been preserved, because not only was this sort of work a production pre-eminently Lombard but it was known and appreciated in France. Even admitting that the interest for animals took, in the Middle Ages, an artistic form particularly in France and from there penetrated into Italy, it seems none the less certain that the style of sketching and miniature painting of animals and the chase that Lombardy produced towards the year 1400, had an influence on the French artists.

Signor Toesca reproduces side by side a drawing of a hunting scene from the sketchbook of Giovannino de' Grassi, in the

⁽¹⁾ *Toesca*, op. cit., p. 407. *H. Bouchot*, *L'ouvrage de Lombardie*, *L'arte*, 1905, p. 18. *Idem*, *Un ouvrage de Lombardie*, *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, XIV, p. 417, is of opinion that under "ouvrage de Lombardie" should be understood the productions executed by Italians in Paris.

Library of Bergamo and a miniature from the "Très Riches Heures" of the Duke of Berry ⁽¹⁾. Now the connexion between the one and the other is indisputable and at the same time it is certain that Giovannino de' Grassi flourished at an earlier period than the Limbourg brothers, the authors of the miniature in question. Even if these two representations find their origin in a common prototype, this model was apparently propagated in Italy before reaching France and the realism, which is the characteristic of the style which manifested itself at the beginning of the 15th century in France, had already its precedent in Lombardy, where to all appearances it originated.

The artistic connexions between France and Lombardy were very numerous. I have already mentioned in the previous chapter that French artists, or at least artists from France, went to work in Milan. French manuscripts were imported into Lombardy where, besides, there were French miniaturists at work. On the other hand there are some French manuscripts with Lombard miniatures as we shall see later on. The Duke of Berry collected Italian works of art and I have already spoken of the Italian artists established in Paris and of the pre-eminent international movement of painters towards the year 1400 ⁽²⁾. The construction of the cathedral of Milan was naturally the cause of the arrival of many foreign artists, particularly from Germany and France ⁽³⁾. In 1389 the chief architect was a certain Niccolo di Bonaventura from Paris. Nevertheless among the painters and stained-glass makers who worked on the cathedral at the beginning of the 15th century, a large majority was of Italian nationality, particularly of Lombard origin ⁽⁴⁾.

I do not think that there are any very important German elements noticeable in the Lombard style of painting which was established about the year 1380. Although France in its turn was influenced by Lombard art of the beginning of the 15th century, it is quite possible that the Lombard artists of the last quarter of

⁽¹⁾ *Toesca*, op. cit., p. 420.

⁽²⁾ v. certain examples in *Toesca*, op. cit., p. 417³.

⁽³⁾ Their number increased, particularly after 1483 v. the list compiled by *E. Müntz*, *Histoire de l'art pendant la Renaissance*, I, Paris, 1889, p. 186.

⁽⁴⁾ *Toesca*, op. cit., p. 433.

the 14th century owe a fair amount to contemporary French sculpture and miniature painting, at least in so far as the determination of the forms and the style is concerned.

In the realm of painting properly speaking, France at this moment had certainly no lessons to offer to Italy, and it is not surprising that the most important artist who felt this French influence, was better known as an architect, sculptor, miniaturist and draughtsman than as a painter; his name was Giovannino de' Grassi. Let us say at once that he was one of those who contributed most to the transformation of the French Gothic style of the 14th century into the Lombard style of about 1400, which was immediately disseminated throughout France.

Mention is made of Giovannino de' Grassi ⁽¹⁾ for the first time in 1389, that is to say towards the end of his life because he died in 1398. He is only recorded as working for the cathedral of Milan. In 1389 and 1390 he receives payment for painted banners. In 1391 he is charged with the execution of a relief of the Saviour and the Good Samaritan at the Well and that same year is mentioned as the engineer of the cathedral. The following year he is given parchment in order to make sketches for stained-glass windows. In 1393 and 1395 we find him occupied at the same work and colouring and gilding statues.

In 1396 he holds a consultation with two other architects regarding the foundations of the cathedral, executes a picture for the high altar and makes sketches for capitals and a mappemonde for the north sacristy. At his death, his son Salomone is requested to preserve his father's drawings and the authorities also express the wish that the wooden model that Giovannino had made of the cathedral is kept intact so that it might serve for the continuation of the work. The honorific character of the funeral and the terms in which his death is recorded in the register are proof of the high esteem in which the master was held.

(1) *A. G. Meyer*, *Lombardische Denkmäler des 14^{en} Jahrh's.*, Stuttgart, 1893, p. 126. *P. Toesca*, *Michelino di Besozzo e Giovannino de' Grassi*, *L'Arte*, 1905, p. 338. *Nebbia*, *La scultura del Duomo di Milano*, Milan, 1908, p. 9. *P. Toesca*, *Pittura e miniatura etc.*, p. 294. *B. Kurth*, *Kunstgesch. Jahrb. der K.K. Zentralkomm.*, V, 1911, pp. 64, 69. *Zoege v. Manteufel*, *Repert. f. Kunstwiss.*, XXXVI, 1913. *Weigelt*, in *Thieme Becker's Künstler Lexikon*, XIV, p. 534.

In 1393 he was requested to execute also the monument in commemoration of Galeazzo II Visconti, but he certainly could not have fulfilled this order because his son is charged with the same commission in 1400.

The sculpture which has come down to us from the hand of Giovannino de' Grassi is not beautiful, and as it has already been



Fig. 33. Giovannino de' Grassi, miniature. Casanatense Library, Rome.

remarked, has sooner the characteristics of the production of a painter who for a change tried his hand at plastic work. Some carving on the architrave of the south door of the sacristy has also been attributed to the master, while Toesca sees Giovannino's manner in a *Pietà* in the cloister of the cathedral. These three pieces of sculpture are a little too lacking in style for us to determine one way or another and I think all that can be said regarding them is that they belong to the same school.

Of Giovannino's pictures we do not possess one single example, one only, and that not very significant, of his sculptures, but

we have some very important miniatures as it seems from his hand.

In the Trivulzian Library in Milan (Cod. 2262) there is a codex of the treatise by Beroldo on the ecclesiastical institutions of Milan which in all probability should be identified with a manuscript ordered in 1396 by the directors of works of the cathedral and for the illustration of which Salomone received payment in

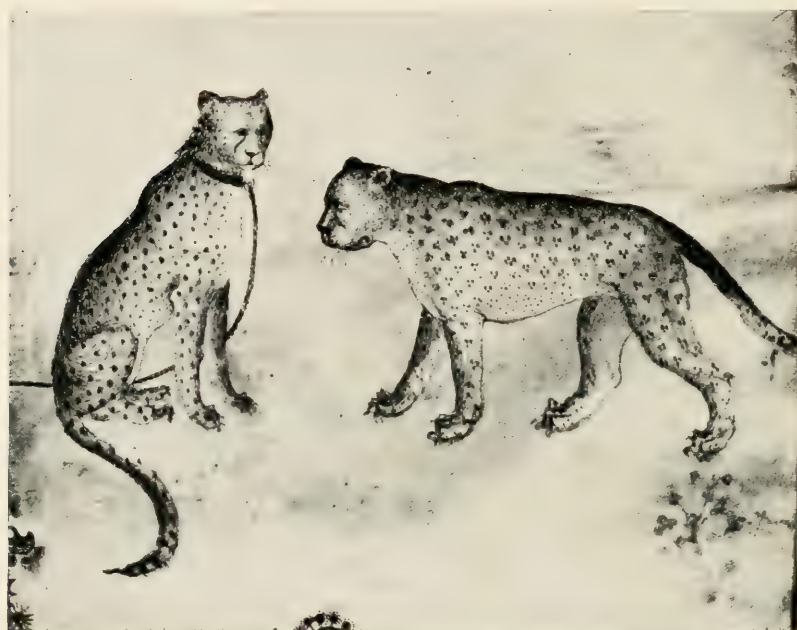


Fig. 34. Giovannino de' Grassi, miniature. Casanatense Library, Rome.

1398 after his father's death ⁽¹⁾. Two different hands can be discovered in these miniatures and Signor Toesca has identified them as almost certainly that of Giovannino de'Grassi and of his son Salomone. Architectural motifs which Giovannino must have known and even created in connexion with the construction of the cathedral, are found in these illuminations.

On account of the style only, the miniatures of two other

⁽¹⁾ *M. Magistretti*, *Beroldus sive Ecclesiae Ambros. Ordines*, Milan, 1894, p. 231. *P. Toesca*, *Di alcuni miniatori lombardi*, *L'Arte*, 1907, p. 190. *Idem*, *La pittura e la miniatura etc.*, p. 307.

codices should be attributed to the same two artists. One is a little prayer-book of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, executed before 1395 and now kept in the library of Duke Visconti di Mondrone in Milan ⁽¹⁾; the other is a similar codex, made for Filippo Maria Visconti, prior to 1395 and now in the Landau-Finally collection in Florence. Not only do the figures here show the same technique but the elaborate buildings reveal in an obvious manner



Fig. 35. Giovannino de' Grassi, miniature. Casanatense Library, Rome.

the interest Giovannino had in architecture. Animals, particularly stags, which decorate the borders find their counterpart in the sketch-book of Bergamo ⁽²⁾. Lastly we discover Giovannino de' Grassi's hand in the best miniatures of an encyclopedia of natural history which is preserved in the Casanatense Library, Rome (ms. 459) (fig. 33--35).

The figures of isolated animals in particular are executed after the manner of those in the codex of Bergamo. Signor Toesca is

⁽¹⁾ *P. Toesca*, op. cit., p. 312.

⁽²⁾ *P. Toesca*, op. cit., p. 312.

of opinion that the series of small figures is by a close follower⁽¹⁾. I think it more likely that they are from the master's own hand. The other miniatures, among which are representations of itinerant merchants (fig. 36) and of country life, are by a much less refined painter whose art has nothing in common with that of de' Grassi.

These attributions are based chiefly on a comparison between



Fig. 36. Miniature, Lombard School, circa 1400 Casanatense Library, Rome.

certain figures of these miniatures and others in the album in the Biblioteca Civica of Bergamo (Cod. Δ , VII, 14)⁽²⁾. As others before me have observed, the pages are of various sizes and

⁽¹⁾ On account of the coat of arms which was added to the first page in the 15th century, it has been thought that the codex belonged to Mathias Corvin. *A. de Hevesy*, *Les miniaturists de Mathias Corvin*, *Revue de l'art, chrétien*, 1911, I. *Toesca*, *op. cit.*, p. 334.

⁽²⁾ *M. Conway*, *The Burlington Magazine*, 1910, II, p. 149, ascribes this book of sketches to the Limbourg brothers. *J. Mesnil*, *L'art au nord et au sud des Alpes etc.*, Bruxelles—Paris, 1911, p. 127. *P. Toesca*, *Michelino da Besozzo e Giovannino de' Grassi. Idem, La Pittura e la miniatura etc.* p. 298.



Fig. 37. Giovannino de' Grassi, leaf 1 verso of sketchbook. Civic Library, Bergamo.

Photo Terzi.

doubtless also of different origin but they were compiled before 1542 because the then owner — perhaps Lorenzo Lotto — inscribed therein this date and his monogram. On the verso of the



Fig. 38. Giovannino de' Grassi, leaf 2 of sketchbook, Civic Library, Bergamo.

Photo Terzi.

fourth page a hand of the end of the 14th century has written: "*Jahininas de Grasis designavit*". In spite of the arguments that have been put forward to demonstrate that Giovannino de' Grassi



Fig. 39. Giovannino de' Grassi, leaf 2 verso of sketch book. Civic Library, Bergamo.

Foto Terzi.

could not have been the author of these drawings: that they date from about 1420—1430, that they should be considered copies of sketches by Giovannino and that the likeness to a miniature from



Fig. 40. Giovannino de' Grassi, leaf 4 verso of sketchbook, Civic Library, Bergamo.

Photo Terzi.

the prayer-book of the Duke of Berry points only to its being a copy of the same, it seems to me, all the same, that there is no reason to doubt that the name of Giovannino de' Grassi is the

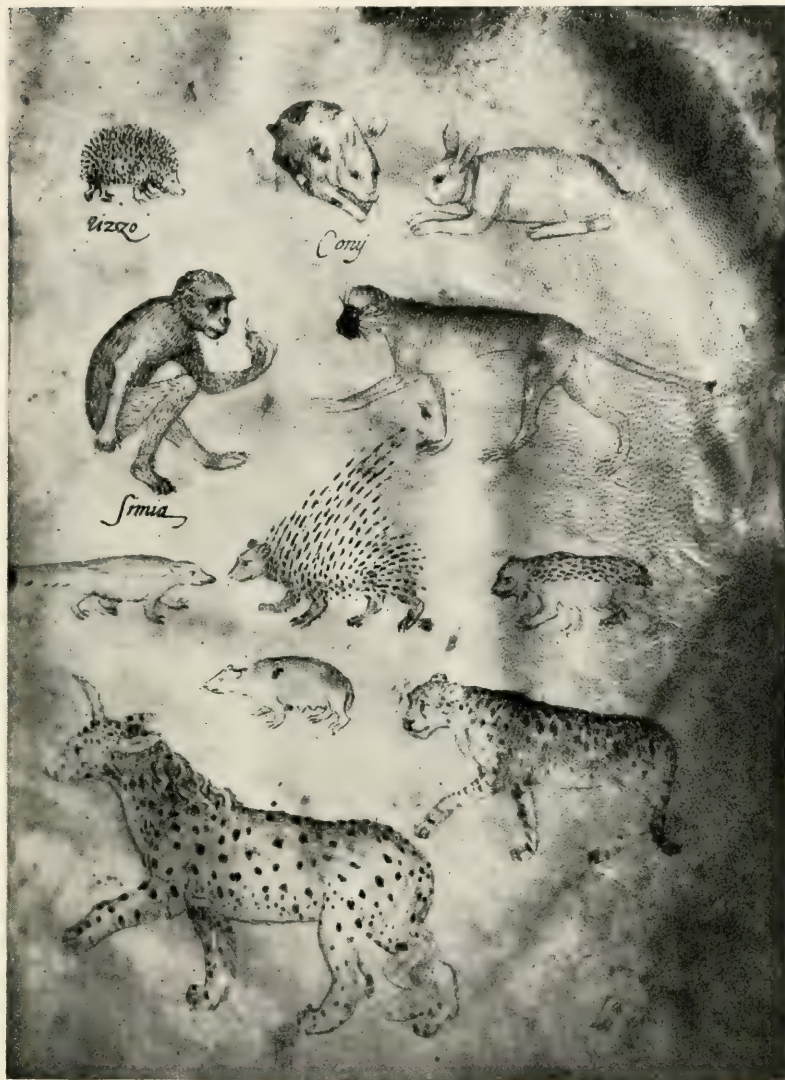


Fig. 41. Giovannino de' Grassi, leaf 5 of sketchbook, Civic Library, Bergamo.

Photo Terzi.

signature, and that the drawings on this page and on the corresponding pages are from the hand of this artist.

The only reason for which we might have been forced to admit a later date is the novelty of the hypothesis that Lombardy was



Fig. 42. Giovannino de' Grassi, leaf 6 of sketchbook. Civic Library, Bergamo.

Photo Terzi.

the site of origin of certain new forms. If there be no difficulty in accepting this idea, then there is no genuine reason to disbelieve that the drawings of Giovannino de' Grassi are prior to the miniatures of the Limbourg brothers. Not all the drawings in the album are from the hand of Giovannino but the majority



Fig. 43. Giovannino de' Grassi, leaf 6 verso of sketchbook, Civic Library, Bergamo.

Photo Terzi.

certainly is. First of all there are the animals which form the greater part ⁽¹⁾.

These sketches seem to be without any doubt from the same hand. The artist is still fairly strongly influenced by the Gothic style and does not reveal the acute observation and the realism that we find in Pisanello's works. Nevertheless these sketches



Fig. 44. Giovannino de' Grassi, leaf 8 of sketchbook. Civic Library, Bergamo.

Photo Terzi.

⁽¹⁾ Page 1 recto, leopard, unicorn and seated bear, verso, elk and deer (fig. 37); p. 2 recto, running deer and panther ready to spring (fig. 38), verso, ostrich and bull-dog (fig. 39); p. 4 verso, two falcons, eagle, goat with long ears, a squirrel and a lion couchant (fig. 40); it is on the top of this page that the signature is inscribed; p. 5 recto, hedgehog, two rabbits, two monkeys, some other small beasts, a panther and a unicorn with a body like a panther (fig. 41); p. 6 recto, horse and donkey (fig. 42); verso, ox and sheep (fig. 43); p. 7 verso, hare and a deer; p. 8 recto, three leopards in a decorative design, obviously a sketch for a frieze (fig. 44); verso, a stag resting on a rock and the hind also in repose, looking up at him from below; p. 15 recto, a deer and two hounds, one couchant, the other sitting (fig. 45), verso two leopards, one running, the other licking his foot, and a small camel between two plants, the latter of an inferior technique; p. 16 recto, roebuck and running hare, a standing wolf and a leopard couchant (fig. 46); p. 17 recto, a pack of hounds attacking a wild boar and a leopard attached in an enclosure to be compared with the miniature in the "Très Riches Heures" of the Duke of Berry (fig. 47); p. 22 recto, seated leopard and a hind (fig. 48), verso a deer without horns in repose, a stag with enormous antlers (fig. 49); p. 23 recto, an ass loaded with two barrels, verso, wild cat; p. 31 recto, a lion devouring a deer (fig. 50).



Fig. 45. Giovannino de' Grassi, leaf 15 of sketchbook. Civic Library Bergamo.

Photo Terzi.

have obviously been made from nature and are the productions of a very skilful artist.

Quite after the same manner, and doubtless also from the hand of Giovannino are the representations of human figures, two of



Fig. 46. Giovannino de' Grassi, leaf 16 of sketchbook. Civic Library, Bergamo.
Photo Terzi.

which show two young women; in the one case one is seated playing a harp while the other touches her shoulder to attract her attention (fig. 51), and in the other one sits reading to her companion (fig. 52). Then we see five young men in elegant



Fig. 47. Giovannino de' Grassi, leaf 17 of sketchbook. Civic Library, Bergamo.

Photo Terzi.



Fig. 48. Giovannino de' Grassi, leaf 22 of sketchbook. Civic Library, Bergamo.

Photo Terzi.

costumes singing together (fig. 53), a wild man covered with hair, carrying a bundle and holding a finger to his mouth to indicate silence and a young woman playing the harp, a drawing with the relief in white ⁽¹⁾. Then a very clever study of an intricate knot

(1) Pages 3 verso, 4 recto, 5 verso, 7 recto, 29 recto.



Fig. 49. Giovannino de' Grassi, leaf 22 verso of sketchbook. Civic Library, Bergamo.

Photo Terzi.

made in a strip of cloth ⁽¹⁾ reveals the same characteristics.

Some smaller pages bound in the same volume show representations of birds, executed in colour, in a technique resembling that of miniature painting, several examples of which will be found

⁽¹⁾ Page 19 recto.



Fig. 50. Giovannino de' Grassi, leaf 31 of sketchbook. Civic Library, Bergamo.

Photo Terzi.



Fig. 51. Giovannino de' Grassi, leaf 3 verso of sketchbook. Civic Library, Bergamo.

Photo Terzi.



Fig. 52. Giovannino de' Grassi, leaf 4 of sketchbook. Civic Library, Bergamo.

Photo Terzi.



Fig. 53. Giovannino de' Grassi, leaf 5 verso of sketchbook. Civic Library, Bergamo.

Photo Terzi.



Fig. 54. Lombard School, leaf 13 of sketchbook. CivicLibrary, Bergamo.

Photo Terzi



Fig. 55. Lombard School, leaf 13 verso of sketchbook. Civic Library, Bergamo.

Photo Terzi

later on in Pisanello's work ⁽¹⁾. Besides, even in the choice of birds there is a certain resemblance between the two series. I do not think that they can be considered the work of de' Grassi. These aquarelles show very few Gothic elements and seem to be of a slightly later date. On the verso of one of the pages ⁽²⁾ there is a sketch of three persons and a leopard in a boat, the sail of which is being hoisted (fig. 56). This shows again a different manner, one more closely resembling Giovannino's art but of a less skilful execution. On the other hand I think we might ascribe to the master himself a series of fantastic letters adorned with, one might almost say formed by, figures of people and animals (fig. 57 and 58) ⁽³⁾. They are very finely executed and show many points in common with the miniatures of Giovannino and his son.

Others for which I am of opinion Giovannino should be held responsible are: a drawing on two pages of the album ⁽⁴⁾ depicting on a small hill an eagle's nest with the mother bird forcing her young to look into the sun, three pages of decorative sketches ⁽⁵⁾ and another page on which a curious motif is repeated twice: two birds with crowned heads, attached to a sort of star. The annotator of the 16th century calls them phoenixes ⁽⁶⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Pages 9 recto, 10 recto, 12 recto and verso, 13 recto and verso (figs. 54 and 55), 24 recto and verso, 25 recto. Besides birds we find among these watercolours: p. 9 verso, a rat; p. 13 recto, a beaver; p. 11 verso a lion rampant.

⁽²⁾ Page 25 verso.

⁽³⁾ Pages 26 verso, 27 recto, 29 verso, 30 recto and verso. *P. Toesca*, *A proposito di Giovannino de' Grassi*, *L'Arte*, 1906, p. 56, points out the strong resemblance which exists between these letters by de' Grassi and some of the letters of the alphabet which the German E.S. engraved about the middle of the 15th century.

⁽⁴⁾ Pages 17 verso and 18 recto

⁽⁵⁾ Two of these pages show the letter M, repeated several times, adorned with motifs, one of eagles, the other of swans (p. 16 verso and p. 19 verso). The third is fairly elaborate, showing friezes of vegetation in one of which rabbits are depicted, then lower down we see a falcon perched in a medaillon on which the word "Amor" is inscribed twice (p. 20 recto). These three drawings, particularly the third, were doubtless sketches for some extensive decorations.

⁽⁶⁾ Page 18 verso.



Fig. 56. Manner of Giovannino de' Grassi, leaf 25 verso of sketchbook. Civic Library, Bergamo.

Photo Terzi.

The half scientific spirit in which these drawings are executed is revealed by an inscription of the period near the ostrich in the writing of Giovannino de' Grassi himself, as will be discovered on a comparison with the signature. This inscription informs us that the ostrich eats iron. Further, that the eagle forces its young to look into the sun is a legend of natural history taken from the "Bestiaire"



Fig. 57. Giovannino de' Grassi, leaf 27 of sketchbook, Civic Library, Bergamo.

Photo Terzi.



Fig. 58. Giovannino de' Grassi, leaf 30 of sketchbook. Civic Library, Bergamo.

Photo Terzi.

The question of the precedence of this form of art in Lombardy on that of France as it is exemplified in the miniatures of the Limbourg brothers, is not only based on the authenticity of certain of these drawings. About the same time we find quite a group of miniatures and drawings which prove the state of development of this style in Lombardy before the end of the

14th century. These unfortunately are all anonymous works, for the facts concerning artists that have come down to us cannot be applied to the extant productions.

We know the name of Giacomo da Campione, architect of the cathedral of Milan; it was he who started the construction and was working at it from 1388 at the very latest. Gian Galeazzo Visconti petitioned him for the building of the Certosa at Pavia. He too left some drawings which were collected together after his death; it may, however, be that they were only sketches for architectural purposes. The signature "*Jacobus Filius Ser Zambonini De Campilione fabricavit hoc opus*", is preserved under a relief of the Saviour as the Universal Judge, in the midst of saints and angels, which adorns the north door of the sacristy of the cathedral (fig. 59). It has been remarked that the word "fabricavit" is not usually employed to designate a plastic work but I think that the term does not only bear reference to the sculpture but to the whole Gothic tabernacle which frames it. Certainly it is not logical that the artist's signature would be inscribed under a work which he had not executed. Meyer⁽¹⁾ slightly exaggerates the German characteristics of this relief. They exist, it is true, but the general appearance of the work is not very different from that of the drawings in the Album of Bergamo, although the latter are considerably superior. It cannot be denied that the style of this carving is unlike that of other plastic works of Lombardy of the second half of the 14th century. Meyer further draws our attention to the resemblance which exists between this relief and the three figures representing the same subject in a very simple composition, which adorn the pulpit of the cathedral of Monza.

Giovannino de' Grassi had a brother, Porino who also was a miniaturist, as too Salomone, the son of Giovannino, whom I have already mentioned as such and who seems to have been a sculptor as well, at least in 1400 he made a sketch for the mausoleum of Gian Galeazzo Visconti.

As for the miniatures which show a connexion in style with the works of de' Grassi and prove the existence of a genuine Lombard school towards the year 1400, Signor Toesca has

(1) Meyer, op. cit., p. 127.



Fig. 59. Giacomo da Campione, the Last Judgment. Cathedral, Milan.

Photo Alinari.

already given the list ⁽¹⁾ which I refrain from copying but none the less I should like to pick out one or two examples.

Signor Toesca is of opinion that Salomone should be held responsible for the miniatures in a bible with the Visconti's coat of arms in the Museo Civico of Milan; those illustrating a bible in the National Library, Paris (lat. 364) can be considered as productions of de' Grassi's school although the technique is very inferior to the master's.

An important argument in favour of the hypothesis of the precedence of this style in Lombardy is furnished by the miniatures dating from 1389 which illustrate a study of natural history by Pietro da Pavia, now in the Ambrosiana Library, Milan (Cod. E. 24), with representations of animals, closely resembling in style the drawings of Giovannino de' Grassi.

A fairly mediocre artist was Anovelo da Imbonate from whose hand we possess a missal illustrated about 1395, which Gian Galeazzo Visconti presented to the church of S. Ambrogio, and a second missal which he illuminated in 1402 for the Chapter House of the cathedral, where it is still preserved.

Signor Toesca rightly ascribes to this artist a panel of the Crucifixion in the church of S. Giorgio in Palazzo in Milan ⁽²⁾.

A follower of Anovelo's, who united with this master's manner certain elements borrowed from the art of Giovannino de' Grassi, illustrated a prayer book in the Estense Library of Modena (lat. d. 73) and a little codex in the Library of Bologna (Cod. 1213) ⁽³⁾.

A group of very interesting miniatures, fairly homogeneous, although certainly from different hands, is found in the three examples of the "Tacuinum Sanitatis", a collection of the principles of health according to the months, the text of which dates back to the 12th century. The first, that in the Hofmuseum of Vienna ⁽⁴⁾,

⁽¹⁾ *Toesca*, op. cit., p. 323 et seq.

⁽²⁾ For this work he was paid 89 lire and 3 soldi. *G. Ottino*, *Del costo di un missale nel 1402*, Florence, 1884.

⁽³⁾ *Toesca*, op. cit., p. 329.

⁽⁴⁾ *Toesca*, op. cit., p. 368.

⁽⁵⁾ *J. von Schlosser*, *Ein Veronesisches Bilderbuch und die höfische Kunst des XIV Jahrh.*, *Jahrb. der Kunsthist. Samml. des Allerh. Kaiserhauses*, 1895, p. 144. For Lombard miniatures of the first half of the 15th century v. also *Malaguzzi Valeri*, op. cit., III p. 127 and *P. D'Ancona*, *La miniature italienne du X^e au XVI^e siècle*, Paris, 1925, p. 20 etc.



Fig. 60. Miniature, Lombard School, first half of the 15th century. National Library, Paris.

Photo Catala.



Fig. 61. Miniature Lombard School, beginning of the 15th century. National Library, Paris.

Photo Catala.

was published as belonging to the Veronese school of the end of the 14th century. The codex contains 106 pages, painted by different artists, at least two fairly different manners can be distinguished. Another example of the same treatise is found in the



Canes captores stultorum
 v. m. m. c. a. f. i. i. melior ex eis uniores inter eos. Inimici
 collige paralesi. necinētur. nemos deficiat. remota ne
 n. cu oleo 7 acetosis.

Fig. 62. Miniature, Lombard School, beginning of the 15th century. National Library, Paris. Photo Catala.

National Library, Paris (Nouv. Acq. 1673) (fig. 60—62) ⁽¹⁾ and not only do we discover a resemblance in style with the miniatures of Vienna but also a correspondence in the compositions. The

⁽¹⁾ *Delisle*, *Traité d'Hygiène du Moyen Age*, *Journal des Savants*, 1896, p. 518.



Fig. 63. Miniature, Lombard School, end of the 14th century (enlarged). National Library, Paris. Photo Catala.

quality of the miniatures in this case is very diverse and clearly reveals the collaboration of several artists of very different standards. Signor Toesca believes that the best of these illuminations are from the hand of the miniaturist who executed the Book of Hours in the National Library, Paris (Lat. 757) (fig. 63-67)⁽¹⁾. Lastly

⁽¹⁾ *Toesca*, op. cit., p. 283, attributes these miniatures to the same artist who executed those in the prayerbook of Bianca di Savoia of 1352-'78. I mentioned them in Vol. V, p. 272, as being of a later date.



Fig. 64. Miniature, Lombard School, end of the 14th century. National Library, Paris. Photo Catala.

the third copy of the *Tacuinum* is preserved in the Casanatense Library, Rome (Cod. 4182) (fig. 68) ⁽¹⁾; the miniatures here too were at first attributed to the Veronese school but they are certainly of Lombard origin and executed by different artists belong-

⁽¹⁾ *G. Fogolari*, *Il ciclo dei mesi nella Torre di Aquila a Trento*, *Tredentum* VIII, IV. *A. Muñoz*, *Un Theatrum Sanitatis con miniature veronese del sec XIV*, *Madonna Verona*, 1908, p. 1.



Fig. 65. Miniature, Lombard School, end of the 14th century (enlarged).
National Library, Paris.

Photo Catula.

ing to this school. Apart from the logical resemblances due to the subjects, these miniatures are characterized by the intimacy with which every day life of the time, life in the country and detailed interiors are depicted. It should be further remarked that the features are exaggerated even to caricature and that these miniatures, much more than is ordinarily the case, form genuine



Fig. 66. Miniature, Lombard School, end of the 14th century. National Library, Paris.

Photo Catala.

little pictures without any calligraphic elements or the usual limitations of miniature painting. Signor Toesca has besides noticed to what an extent certain of the miniatures of the Tacuinum of Vienna resemble in style the frescoes of de Veris with whom we



Fig. 67. Miniature, Lombard School, end of the 14th century (enlarged).
National Library, Paris.

Photo Catala.

shall deal later on. Some of the miniatures by Giovannino de' Grassi and his immediate followers belong on account of their style to this group

To this first group of Lombard Gothic works which developed towards the end of the 14th century and lasted scarcely beyond

the year 1400, a considerable number of drawings belong. They include several series and a few scattered pages.

The series of drawings that most closely approaches that of Giovannino de' Grassi's is one belonging to Baron Rothschild,



Fig. 68. Miniature, Lombard School, first half of the 15th century. Casanatense Library, Rome.

Paris. I know it only from the reproduction of one of the pages which is entirely dedicated to the study of animals⁽¹⁾ showing hounds chasing game, monkeys and lions.

⁽¹⁾ Reprod. in *A. Venturi, Storia dell' arte italiana*, VIII, p. 252, fig. 143. The classification of "manner" of Giovannino de' Grassi seems to me quite exact. *M. Conway, The van Eyks and their followers*, London, 1921, p. 39, attributes this series to Giovannino himself.



Fig. 69. Leaf of sketchbook. Lombard School, beginning of the 15th century.
Gallery, Venice.

Photo Filippi.

A little album, preserved in the Gallery of Venice, is of no great importance from an artistic point of view ⁽¹⁾. Apart from the first

(1) *G. D'Adda*, *Les Besozzo*, *L'Art*, 1882, p. 85. *P. Toesca*, *op. cit.*, p. 448 note 3, is of opinion that page 9 is from a different hand than the other leaves. *Bossi*, secretary of the Brera Gallery (1777–1815) ascribed them to Michelino da Besozzo. The first drawing was at one time attributed to Starnina. *G. Fogolari*, *I disegni della R. Gallerie dell' Accademia (di Venezia)*, Milan, p. 11.

page (fig. 69) on which two ladies are seen standing while a man bows before one of them and lower down two half-length female figures, probably allegories of Faith and Justice, for one is veiled and carries a cross, the other crowned and holds a globe, are represented, all the other pages show sketches of animals.



Fig. 70. Leaf of sketchbook, Lombard School, beginning of the 15th century.
Gallery, Venice.

Photo Filippi.

With but few exceptions there are two on each page, one above the other. There is a large variety of beasts depicted, including lions, elephants, deer, dogs, wild boar, antelope, rabbits, ferrets etc. (figs. 70—74). The relief effects are obtained by a profusion of white; the sketches are executed in silver-point.

Far superior are the drawings in a sketch-book, acquired by the Print Room in Rome; it was bought in Milan but there is a probability that it came originally from Bergamo⁽¹⁾. The collection

(1) *G. Bariola*, *Quaderno di disegni del principio del sec XV*, *Le Gallerie Nazionali Italiane*, Rome, 1902, p. 360. *P. Toesca*, *op. cit.*, p. 449.



Fig. 71. Leaf of sketchbook, Lombard School, beginning of the 15th century. Gallery, Venice.

Photo Filippi.

comprises thirty pages covered with a preparation of cement, on which the artist has worked in silver-point and in white.

A large number of the pages are adorned with illustrations from the legend of St. Antony Abbot, according to the version of St. Anastasius, with perhaps a few elements borrowed from the Golden Legend. Besides that, there are other religious subjects including representations of God the Father, the Madonna and



Fig. 72. Leaf of sketchbook, Lombard School, beginning of the 15th century. Gallery, Venice.

Photo Filippi.

allegorical figures of virtues, but we also find studies of knights, and of animals, both tame and wild, such for example as camels, lions and leopards which are depicted as well in some of the hunting scenes and in the architectural designs (figs. 75 and 76).

The very skilful and thoroughly estimable artist to whom we owe these sketches finds a place midway between Giovannino de' Grassi and Michelino da Besozzo. The refined Gothic lines and



Fig. 73. Leaf of sketchbook, Lombard School, beginning of the 15th century. Gallery, Venice.

Photo Filippi.

spirit of his drawings are more reminiscent of the former artist.

There is a certain number of scattered pages with Lombard drawings of the end of the 14th century or the beginning of the 15th, recalling in style the art of Giovannino de' Grassi. As such Signor Toesca has rightly mentioned the leaf in the Albertina of



Fig. 74. Leaf of sketchbook, Lombard School, beginning of the 15th century.
Gallery, Venice. Photo Filippi.

Vienna (fig. 77) ⁽¹⁾ on which on one side we see a representation of the Adoration of the Magi, the horses and followers being very

⁽¹⁾ Reproductions of the drawings in the Albertina, VII, pl. 752. *Toesca*, op. cit., p. 443.



Fig. 75. Leaf of sketchbook, Lombard School, beginning of the 15th century.
Print Room, Rome.

faintly indicated, the Virgin and Child and several figures of saints and on the other two studies of a deer's head. The latter seem to be by a different artist, one who closely approaches Pisanello but the drawings on the other side are typically Lombard.



Fig. 76. Leaf of sketchbook Lombard School, beginning of the 15th century.
Print Room. Rome.

Doubtless also of Lombard origin is a drawing in the Kupferstich Kabinet, Berlin, showing a dog resting in an enclosure and two lions, one of which holds a book and seems to be the symbol

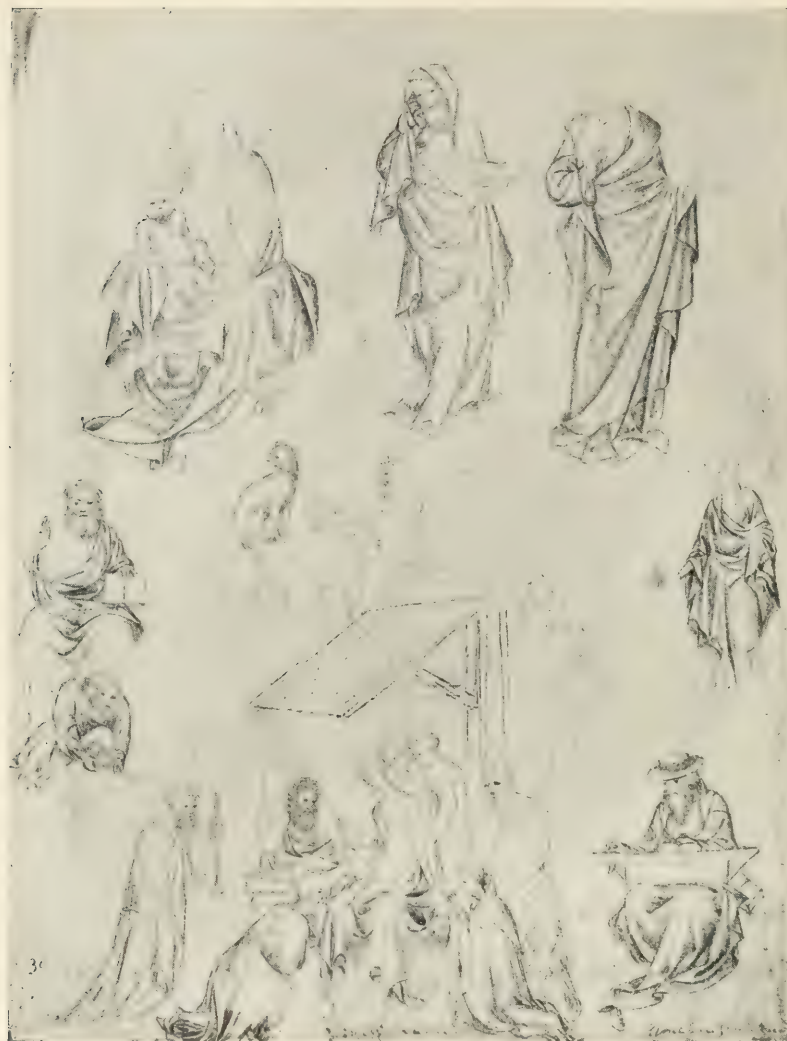


Fig. 77. Drawing, Lombard School, beginning of the 15th century. Albertina, Vienna.

of St. Mark with a he-goat between them (fig. 78). This drawing resembles those in the sketch-book of Bergamo which are not from the hand of Giovannino de' Grassi.

Of the same origin I believe are three pen and ink drawings



Fig. 78. Drawing, Lombard School, first half of the 15th century. Kupferstich Kabinet, Berlin.

which seem to have belonged to a series; all three show the monogram of the collector G. L., and one of them was sold in May 1924 at a public auction in London (Sale of the G. L. collection No. 114), in a lot originating from an old Veronese collection. The drawing represents a Father of the Church wearing a cap, holding a book in one hand and raising the other. The two other pages showing the same writing, belong to the Lugt collection, Maartensdijk, (U.), Holland; one depicts St. John wearing spectacles, writing at a desk, the symbolic eagle nearby (fig. 79); the other according to the inscription portrays Daniel the prophet as a young man, holding a pen and a phylactery.

Perhaps yet another page, this one in the Louvre, is from the same hand, although it is somewhat different; here we see three figures: one an old man, his head covered by a hood, sitting down, the second a young man erect wearing a toga and a helmet and the third the outline of a female figure, covered only with a veil, carrying a little statue (fig. 80).

A very important series of Lombard drawings is found in a sketch-book which once belonged to Mr. Fairfax Murray⁽¹⁾. The subjects of these drawings are rather unusual, because they illustrate chiefly the trades and daily occupations of different people. Some of the sketches represent hunting scenes and tourneys, there are also some chimerae and caricatures but most of them illustrate, as I said, more modest occupations, some even of rather a licentious nature.

The Vallardi collection also possesses several drawing which I believe to be Lombard⁽²⁾. Very close to Giovannino de' Grassi's art is a page showing a deer browsing and six studies of a hound seated (fig. 81)⁽³⁾. I think also of Lombard workmanship is a drawing representing three different moments of a dog giving chase to a hare; two of them are on another page and are execut-

(1) Two Lombard sketch-books in the collection of C. Fairfax Murray, London, 1910.

(2) I do not agree with Signor Toesca who includes among the Lombard works of this collection all the aquarelles of birds and other animals, as well as the sketches of windows and of Gothic ornaments.

(3) Vallardi collection, page 231; *Les dessins de Pisanello et de son école*, conservés au Musée du Louvre, publiées avec une préface de J. Guiffrey, Paris, 1911, no. 148.



Fig. 79. Drawing, Lombard School, circa 1400. Lugt collection, Maartensdijk (U.), Holland.



Fig. 80. Drawing, Lombard School, circa 1400, Louvre, Paris.

Photo Braun.



Fig. 81. Drawing, Lombard School, beginning of the 15th century.
Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

ed in water colours⁽¹⁾; they reveal, however, a certain connexion with the picture of St. Eustace by Pisanello.

Then some sketches of lions, of the bull of St. Luke, perhaps

⁽¹⁾ Pages 228, 229 (reprods. 184, 211 of "Les Dessins de Pisanello et de son école, conservés au Musée du Louvre"), p. 191 verso (263), p. 202 (264), p. 191 (48), p. 248 (207, 254).

of monkeys, of insects with a head of an eagle, and two studies of storks among flowers are also of Lombard origin.

In a collection of sketches in the Ambrosiana Library, there is at least one which is surely Lombard. It represents two figures of saints and a shepherd with his flock ⁽¹⁾. A hunting scene in the Gallery of Budapest is not nearly so typical of this school ⁽²⁾.

A mediocre drawing of a lion and a bear in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, seems to belong sooner to this school than to that of Pisanello; the sketch is sometimes even attributed to the master himself (fig. 82).

Pictures properly speaking, of the early Gothic manner, are fairly rare in Lombardy. Only two authentic works are known; they are the frescoes by de Veris at Campione and the panel by Michelino da Besozzo in the Gallery of Siena.

The frescoes of de Veris adorn the outside of the church of Sta. Maria de' Ghirli at Campione; a long inscription to the right finishes with the words: "*franchus de Veris de M(edio)l(an)o et filipolus ei filius pinxit hoc opus*". The date 1400 seems to have originally followed the signature ⁽³⁾. The scene represented is that of the Last Judgment. In the centre on a Gothic throne of a curious form the crowned Saviour is seated, His chest bare and His arms outstretched according to an old iconographical tradition (fig. 83). A large number of angels is grouped around the central figure, some of them carrying the instruments of the Passion, which is another iconographical feature of Byzantine origin. To either side below we see groups of persons in prayer, probably the resurrected who are waiting to be judged. Among them a Franciscan monk is very much in evidence, he seems to call the others by an encouraging gesture; among the kneeling figures we can distinguish a pope, two bishops, a king and a

⁽¹⁾ *Toesca*, op. cit., p. 451¹, thinks it sooner Veronese.

⁽²⁾ *W. Suida*, Studien zur lombardische Malerei, Monatsh. zur Kunstwiss., 1909, p. 473, wishes to identify the principal personage as Gian Galeazzo Visconti.

⁽³⁾ *J. R. Rahn*, Die Mittelalt. Wandgemälde in des Ital.-Schweiz. Mittheil. d. Antiq. Gesellsch. in Zurich, XXI, p. 21. *Gerspach*, Une cité Ambrosienne, Séances etc. de l'Ac. des Sc., LXII, p. 243. *The Same*, Gli affreschi di Campione, L'Arte, 1902, p. 168. *F. Malaguzzi Valeri*, Campione, Rassegna d'Arte, 1908, p. 167. *Toesca*, op. cit., pp. 345, 434.



Fig. 82. Drawing, Lombard School, first half of the 15th century. Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne.

Photo Kunstgew. Mus., Cologne.

queen. More to the right we see a beautifully attired young lady, listening to the chants of the devil in the form of a magnificent young man who is accompanied by a repugnant musician; the



Fig. 83. Francesco de Veris, detail of the Last Judgment. Campione.

disastrous consequence of her imprudence is depicted alongside (fig. 84).

As Signor Toesca has remarked, the resemblance in style between this fresco and certain pages of the Tacuinum of Vienna is obvious, not only in the *mise-en-scène* of the subjects and in the very rich and well blended colouring, but also in the curious faces with exaggerated almost grotesque expressions.

An interesting work of the school of de Veris is preserved at Lodi on one of the pillars of the church of S. Francesco where the Virgin is depicted seated on an imposing Gothic throne (fig. 85). The folds of the hem of her dress are of a calligraphic nature. The Child, who is on her knee, turns towards a kneeling donor behind whom is seen St. Antony Abbot. These two last figures have exaggerated facial features, similar to those we found in the miniatures of the different examples of the "Tacui-



Fig. 84. Filippo de Veris, detail of the Last Judgment, Campione.

num" and in the frescoes of de Veris. The painting at Lodi, which shows the artificial refinements of flowery Gothic art in all its details, seems to be of a somewhat later date, probably of about 1420. Chiefly on the pillars of the same church, but also on the walls and even in the bell-tower, there is a considerable number of votive frescoes; they include several enthroned Madonnas with adorers, standing Madonnas, saints and the marriage of St. Catherine, and belong to the same artistic movement ⁽¹⁾ but generally speaking they are works of rather a provincial appearance, showing to only a feeble extent any connexion with the Gothic style. The date of 1411 which is scratched on one of the

⁽¹⁾ *E. Biagni*, La Chiesa di S. Francesco, Lodi, 1897. *Toesca*, op. cit., p. 400.

frescoes proves that these paintings, which are all pretty much of the same period and in several of which we can discover the same hand, are prior to this date.

A panel of a half-length figure of St. Francis in the author's collection more closely approaches the art of de Veris.

I find it necessary to refer once more to certain frescoes which I have already mentioned in Volume IV as works of the end of the Trecento. They are, for example, the fresco in the lunette of the cathedral of Piacenza — a town really in Emilia — showing the Virgin enthroned in the midst of four saints and a kneeling bishop, a work in which the calligraphic line is so typical of the art with which we are at the present moment dealing ⁽¹⁾, and the scenes from the Old Testament in the vault of the cathedral of Cremona ⁽²⁾ which in spite of the more archaic appearance characteristic of 14th century painting, bear an obvious resemblance to the miniatures of the codices of the "Tacuinum sanitatis". To this group belong also the frescoes in the church of Sta. Maria in Selva in the cemetery of Locarno, although they show a form of art of a more advanced stage of development ⁽³⁾. In the vault each of the four divisions is decorated with three standing figures of saints below whom flies an angel, while a medallion is seen in each of the lower angles. Several of the figures are attired in costumes of the period and the faces are very individual. The latter feature is still more evident in the group of persons kneeling under the cloak of the Madonna della Misericordia which forms the subject of the fresco, decorating the end wall of the church. An inscription giving the name of the donor provides us also with the date 1400.

To the same artist might perhaps be attributed the very damaged frescoes on the left wall of the church, showing the Virgin between two saints and the Nativity, but not the Crucifixion, dating from 1401, on the end wall, which is the work of a less skilful painter, and still less the fresco of the Funeral of the

⁽¹⁾ Vol. IV, p. 507. *Toesca*, op. cit., p. 392. Signor Toesca rightly ascribes to the same hand two rather repainted figures of saints which adorn a reliquary in the Museum of Piacenza

⁽²⁾ Vol. IV, p. 265. *Toesca*, op. cit., p. 397.

⁽³⁾ *Rahn*, op. cit., p. 34. *W. Suida*, op. cit., p. 470. *Toesca*, op. cit., p. 393.

Virgin on the right wall, a very mediocre and much later production.

A fragmentary frescoed figure of S. Euphemia under an elaborate Gothic tabernacle, from the cloister of Sta. Maria dei Servi, Milan, now in the Brera Gallery ⁽¹⁾, more closely approaches the manner of Giovannino de' Grassi, whose influence is also evident in a Madonna della Misericordia in the left apse of Sta. Maria di Tiglio at Gravedone ⁽²⁾.

We know yet another artist whose style of painting enables us to classify him in the same category as de' Grassi; it is Antonino de Ferraris, who in



Fig. 85. School of de Veris, votive fresco. S. Francesco, Lodi.

⁽¹⁾ *Toesca*, op. cit., p. 391.

⁽²⁾ *Toesca*, op. cit., p. 557 note 3.

1419 decorated the chapel of Aghinoro d'Acqualunga in the church of S. Luca at Cremona. During the same year he seems also to have been active in the castle of Pavia ⁽¹⁾. The subject of his frescoes in the chapel, where only a few fragments remain visible, is the history of St. John the Baptist. We can attribute to the same painter a lunette in the sacristy showing the meeting between the living and the dead and a piece of a fresco, representing, I think, a resurrection, in the Gallery of Cremona. Antonino must have been a very refined artist with a highly developed sense of the aesthetic. His drawing as well as his colouring goes to prove that he was one of the best painters of this group.

This style culminates in the art of Michelino da Besozzo ⁽²⁾, not so much on account of a greater artistic perfection, as for the reason that the characteristic features of this movement are expressed in his art in the most pictorial and most emphatic manner.

Michelino de Mulinari da Besozzo really belonged to a later generation than Giovannino de' Grassi because his death took place thirty-five years after that of the latter artist. The first mention found of him is in 1388 when he executed the frescoes in the cloister of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro in Pavia; in 1394 he is recorded as working in the church of S. Mustiola of the same town ⁽³⁾. Michelino is never mentioned without some reference to his great artistic capabilities. A text of the period cited by Count Malaguzzi Valeri names him with Gentile and Jean d'Arboise as one of the best artists of his day. In 1410 Giovanni Alcherio, who meets him in Venice, speaks of him as "*pictore excellentissimo*

⁽¹⁾ Caffi, Il castello di Pavia, Archiv. Stor. Lomb., III, p. 543. Toesca, op. cit., p. 470.

⁽²⁾ D'Adda, op. cit. F. Malaguzzi Valeri, Pittori lombardi, p. 207. Toesca, Michelino da Besozzo etc. Toesca, Pittura e miniatura, p. 435. P. Durrieu, Michelino da Besozzo et les relations entre l'art italien et l'art français etc., Mem. de l'Acc. des Insc. et Belles lett., XXXVII, 2, 1911, p. 365. F. Malaguzzi Valeri, in Thieme Becker's Künstler Lexikon, III, p. 532. G. Zappa, Michelino da Besozzo, miniatori, L'Arte, 1910, p. 443. C. J. Ffoulkes and R. Maiocchi, Vincenzo Foppa, London, 1909, p. 22 and p. 22 note 4. H. Bouchot, Les primitifs français, Paris, 1904, pp. 145 and 214 and in other of his writings has attempted to give this artist a French nationality by interpreting his name as Michelin de Vesoul but this hypothesis has had no other supporters.

⁽³⁾ Ffoulkes and Maisiechi, loc. cit.

inter omnes pictores mundi". In the documents of the cathedral of Milan where he worked from 1418 until 1442, similar laudatory expressions are used in describing him. From these memoirs which speak of him also as a draughtsman, we discover that he was employed as master glazier as well⁽¹⁾. He must have died shortly after this because no further mention is made of him in the cathedral records. A certain Michele da Pavia is found active in Mantua in 1457 and 1465 but, as has already been remarked, the lateness of the dates makes it impossible that these records refer to Michelino who was already at work seventy-seven years before. The humanist Uberto Decembrio in his "Dialogus Moralis Philosophiae" praises "*Michele pavesè*" as having been very skilful from childhood onwards at representing animals. It might be believed that this bears reference to the Michele who was active at Mantua, but our artist seems to have been so famous that it is more likely that these praises are addressed to him; besides of the two painters, it was he who lived when the representation of animals was in vogue and Antonio Michiel (the Anonimo Morelliano) saw in 1530 an album with coloured drawings of animals in the house of Gabriel Vendramin in Venice, which he tells us were from the hand of Michelino Milanese⁽²⁾.

The Venetian, Jacopo Antonio Marcello, in a letter of 1449 to Queen Isabel, wife of King René of Anjou, tells her of a game of cards that Filippo Maria Visconti had painted by Michelino "le Polycetus" of their day⁽³⁾.

Cattaneo pretends that in 1825 he saw the signature of Michelino in the second court of the Casa Borromeo where now there remain but some faint traces of frescoes which were once supposed to represent the triumph of Petrarch.

Of the works known to us through documentary evidence not a single one is extant; further I do not believe that one of the

⁽¹⁾ The works mentioned in these documents are the paintings he executed together with his son Leonardo, near the altar of S. Giulitta, stained-glass windows for which he receives payment in 1425 and 1442, a banner for which he is paid in 1429 and an image of the Saviour, paid in 1439.

⁽²⁾ Der Anonimo Morelliano, ed. Th. Friemel, Quellenschriften f. Kunstgeschichte etc., Neue Folge, I, Vienna, 1888, p. 108. Lomazzo, in his Trattato della pittura, mentions him as a miniaturist.

⁽³⁾ Durrieu, op. cit.

frescoes in the Casa Borromeo is from his hand and it is the general opinion that the signature on a panel in the treasury of the cathedral, which will be dealt with later on, is false, so that works by Michelino seem to be very scarce. Nevertheless the panel signed in relief "*Michelino fecit*", in the Gallery of Siena is certainly from his hand. It depicts the mystic marriage of St. Catherine, the Child, Who is naked, sits on His mother's lap; both the Virgin and St. Catherine, who kneels to one side, are crowned (fig. 85). The central group is accompanied by SS. Antony Abbot and John the Baptist who look on attentively. The names of the two saints, as well as the Gothic throne of the Virgin and all the haloes are shown in relief.

It is a curious painting but one full of charm. One sees at a glance that it is a work of Lombard origin; there is even a certain resemblance between the St. Antony of this panel and the figure of the same saint in the fresco of the school of de Veris at Lodi, only here he is not quite so grotesque. The lines show the characteristic calligraphic effects. Nevertheless the types of the Madonna and of the saint, as well as that of the Child are out of the ordinary; the two former have decidedly German features and resemble the figures of the picture called the "Madonna of the Garden of Roses" in the Museum of Verona, which is frequently attributed to Stefano da Verona and in which the German influence is very evident. The Child Jesus on the other hand is sooner French in type because, as Signor Toesca has justly remarked, an identical representation of Him is found in the picture ascribed to Malouel, once in the Aynard collection.

A striking resemblance exists between the picture at Siena and the miniatures which adorn a manuscript of the funeral prayers of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, who died in 1402. The codex, which is preserved in the National Library, Paris (lat. 5888), must have been executed about 1404. The orator was an Augustinian monk from Pavia and it is highly probable that the manuscript was made in the town where Michelino started his career⁽¹⁾. The principal miniature depicts the Virgin and Child in the midst of the twelve Virtues while Jesus places a crown on the head of

⁽¹⁾ P. Toesca, *Le miniature dell' Elogio funebre di Gian Galeazzo Visconti*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, Oct. 1910. *Zappa*, op. cit.



Fig. 86. Michelino da Besozzo, the mystic wedding of St. Catherine. Gallery, Siena.

Photo Alinari.

Gian Galeazzo — the Count of Virtue — who kneels before him.

The resemblance is so marked that we must admit the existence of a special manner which flourished probably at Pavia and of which the miniaturist and Michelino were the only representatives, unless Michelino and the miniaturist were one

and the same person which seems to me very probable, especially considering that between a picture and a miniature by the same artist there is always a certain difference. I am quite in agreement with this opinion, which is that of Signor Zappa. Signor Toesca believes that they were executed by another painter under the master's immediate influence; on the other hand he holds Michelino responsible for four pages of parchment in the Louvre on which several figures of Apostles are executed in colour⁽¹⁾. The resemblance is obvious. I think, however, that these figures show plastic effects which are much more pronounced and treated in a more peculiar manner than in either the panel in Siena or in the miniatures; also the types of the faces are more regular, so that I do not really think that we can consider these drawings the work of Michelino.

The art of Michelino da Besozzo differs from that of de' Grassi and de Veris by an increase of the pictorial element even although his works are conceived in the same calligraphic lines. With him started a transformation in the Gothic art of Lombardy, a transformation which shortly resulted in the production of such works as the frescoes of the Zavattari and Leonardo, the son of Michelino. In the field of sculpture the same change is noticeable if we compare for example the statue that Jacopino da Tradate made of Pope Martin V and that by Giacomo da Campione.

There are several paintings that should be associated with the art of Michelino da Besozzo. In Milan itself there is a fresco of the Madonna in the church of Sta. Maria Pondone, and in Mantua we might cite the portraits of the consuls of the corporations of 1450, now in the chamber of commerce of this town. Both works have been attributed to Michelino himself, but nowadays the repainted condition of the former and the poor state of the latter prevent our coming to a definite conclusion; in any case the date of the portraits of the consuls renders the attribution to this painter impossible.

A work which closely approaches Michelino's manner, but I do not think can be ascribed to the master's own hand, is a panel of the marriage of the Virgin which was for sale in Florence in April 1924.

⁽¹⁾ *Toesca*, op. cit., p. 443.

A picture which is almost as near the master's manner is a tondo in the Museum of Berlin (No. 1648), which is generally attributed to the French school but which I rather think, is a Milanese work of Michelino's group. The museum catalogue



Fig. 87. School of Michelino da Besozzo, the Coronation of the Virgin.
Museum, Berlin.

gives it to this master ⁽¹⁾. The subject represented is the Virgin kneeling before the Saviour who places a crown on her head; to the left two angels kneel behind the Virgin, while to the right two others raise the curtain of the baldachin, under which the Lord is seated. Some flowers are strewn in the foreground (fig. 87).

⁽¹⁾ *A. Venturi*, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, VII¹, p. 278, finds that this picture has a somewhat German appearance.

The technique of this painting is too different from what we find in France, for us ever to be able to believe that it is of French workmanship. There is a complete lack of that precision of line and calligraphic effects in the drawing which are so typical of French primitives and which reveal their close connexion with miniature painting. On the other hand the plastic effects are strongly marked and this feature is more characteristic of Italian art. Instead of the regular beauty of the faces, which the French artists borrowed from Simone Martini and continued to produce for some time, we find here faces full of expression, but slightly grimacing, which recall the figures in the works of de Veris and in the miniatures of the codices of the "Tacuinum". The Virgin is reminiscent of the female types of Tyrol and Verona which we have already observed in Michelino's painting. Consequently I think that this little panel is of Lombard origin and belongs to the school of Michelino.

The influence of Michelino is slightly less direct in a doubtless fragmentary painting of a group of five angels, two of whom play on musical instruments, in the Correr Museum, Venice ⁽¹⁾. Here it should not be forgotten that Michelino himself was in Venice.

With regard to miniatures of the school of Besozzo, mention should specially be made of the representation of the Baptist in the Museo Civico, Turin. His influence is also evident in a "De consolatione philosophiae" in the Library of Cesena, a Franciscan breviary in the University Library of Bologna (cod. 337) and in some others of minor importance ⁽²⁾.

Drawings belonging more or less to Besozzo's school are preserved in the Ambrosiana, Milan ⁽³⁾. Most closely approaching the master's style is a sketch on a tondo of parchment, representing the Nativity. The Virgin, who lies under a shed, and St. Joseph, who is sitting by her side, are both depicted in meditation; the Child is seen having His first bath while the angels announce the glad tidings to the shepherds.

In the same collection and probably from the same hand there

⁽¹⁾ *A. Venturi*, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, VII¹, p. 236, believes this to be a production of the school of Stefano da Verona.

⁽²⁾ *Toesca*, *op. cit.*, p. 517.

⁽³⁾ *Toesca*, *op. cit.*, p. 452.

is a drawing of the Annunciation; the kneeling Virgin turns towards the angel who bows in reverence behind her ⁽¹⁾.

There are still some works which belong to the first group of Gothic Lombard art of the 15th century, because they show clearly the characteristic calligraphic effects in the drawing. For the greater part they are miniatures and I should like first of all



Fig. 88. Miniature, Lombard School, first half of the 15th century. National Library, Paris.

Photo Catala.

to mention those made for Filippo Maria Visconti. Recalling the style of de' Grassi and a little also that of the illustrations of the various codices of the "Tacuinum Sanitatis" might be cited a "Vitae imperatorum", translated by Decembrio, dating from 1431, in the National Library, Paris (italien 131), a Livy from the castle of Pavia and a Dittamondo of 1447, both illuminated by the same artist and now both also in the National Library,

(1) On the verso of this page there are some classical figures, probably of the Veronese school.

Paris (italien 118 and 18). From the same hand are the miniatures of several other manuscripts, such for example as a "Divina Commedia", divided between the National Library, Paris (italien 2017) (fig. 88) and the library of Imola, the prayer book of Maria di Savoia, now in the library of Chambéry, a missal, given in 1459 by Bianca Maria Sforza to the cathedral of Milan, now in the Ambrosiana Library, and many others (1). This master is rather unrefined and ordinary, but he possessed a decided sense of the dramatic, nevertheless his lack of skill resulted in the figures and particularly the faces being almost caricatures. His colouring too is somewhat crude. However he formed quite a little school of which Signor Toesca has given a list of the productions, the latest work dating from 1463. This critic attributes to his school a fresco adorning a vault in the left nave of the church of S. Francesco at Lodi, showing the four Fathers of the Church.

More faithful to the principles of de' Grassi's art was the miniaturist who finished the illuminations of the prayer book of Filippo Maria Visconti in the Landau-Finlay Library in Florence. He was certainly one of his direct pupils, but his brush strokes are rather heavy. Signor Toesca has been able to identify this artist with Belbello da Pavia, a miniaturist. He ascribes to him the illustration of several other manuscripts, among which are an important missal in the cathedral of Mantua, a bible that Niccolo III d'Este had illustrated in 1434, now in the Vatican Library (Barb. lat. 613) and a miniature of St. George killing the dragon, in the Print Room of Berlin (2).

I shall not enumerate the other illuminated manuscripts described by Signor Toesca but should, all the same, still like to mention the fine decoration, dating probably from 1435, of an "Augustinus De Civitate dei" from the Rossiana Library, Vienna (173) (3), now in that of the Vatican, and a "Baldus de Perusio" of 1419 in the Studiënbibliothek of Salzburg (4). The miniaturist,

(1) *Toesca*, op. cit., p. 528.

(2) *Toesca*, op. cit., p. 582. *The Same*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1918, p. 141.

(3) Beschreib. Verzeich. der Illum. Handschr. in Österreich, V. H. Tietze, Die illum. Handschriften der Rossiana, Leipzig, 1911, p. 98.

(4) Same collection, II. H. Tietze, Die illuminierten Handschriften in Salzburg, Leipzig, 1905, p. 49.



Fig. 89. Giovanni di Ugolino da Milano, Madonna and Child. Private Collection.

Giovanni di Ugolino da Milano, who in 1436 decorated the missal in the cathedral of Fermo, was a calligraphist who produced grotesque forms, borrowing chiefly from the art of the de Veris. I think Dr. De Nicola is right in holding this painter responsible for a panel of the Madonna, sitting in a flowery field, which exists in a private collection (fig. 89).

Signor Toesca still mentions as works, deriving from the manner of Michelino da Besozzo, some remains of frescoes — figures

of saints in tabernacles — on the façade of S. Cristoforo sul Naviglio, near Milan, and a Virgin with the Child in the church of Sta. Maria della Porta ⁽¹⁾. Further I believe to be Lombard or at least trained at the Lombard school a certain Johannes de Francia, who signed and dated in 1429 a painting of the Madonna on a throne with the Child standing on her knee (fig. 90) which I have seen in different collections in Rome but of whose actual destiny I am unaware ⁽²⁾. Schulz ⁽³⁾ tells us of a Christ on the Cross with two angels above and the Virgin and St. John below, signed by the same artist and dated 1432, which in his day existed in a chapel in the subterranean part of the cathedral of Trani, but which is no longer found there.

Before continuing I should like to discuss for a moment this fairly homogeneous group of painters, miniaturists and draughtsmen, of which the principal figures were the de' Grassi, the de Veris and Michelino da Besozzo. It is rather a curious coincidence that each of the three painters, whose names have come down to us, had a son who continued his father's art. This, one would think, should have been an excellent occasion for the continuation of the same style, but it was not so. It is true that the second generation of the Lombard school also belonged to the international Gothic manner, but they did not show those calligraphic elements which in the entire international Gothic school were due to an influence of miniature painting.

It was also the art of miniature painting which determined the style in which de' Grassi, de Veris, Michelino and their adherents worked, but it was not the only factor in the formation of this style, for the late Gothic sculpture and the influence of France and Germany, received through Tyrol and Verona, were almost equally important.

The origin of the frequent representation of animals in sketch-books and sometimes in the borders of miniatures has been sufficiently explained. The fondness for "scènes de genre" and for the depiction of contemporary life and costume is but the outcome

⁽¹⁾ *Toesca*, op. cit., p. 491.

⁽²⁾ *A. Venturi*, *L'Arte*, 1908, p. 138.

⁽³⁾ *H. W. Schulz*, *Denkmaeler der Kunst des Mittelalters in Unteritalien*, I, Dresden, 1860, p. 114.



Fig. 90. Giovanni da Francia, *Madonna and Child*, 1429.
Ex-Khvoskinsky Collection, Rome.

of elements we have noticed in the art of Northern Italy since the beginning of the 14th century, and the different illustrations of the "Tacuinum" are merely a continuation of this artistic movement. There is a very marked connexion in style which links the works of Giovannino de' Grassi with those of the Lombard miniaturists of the middle of the 14th century. All the same, the new elements are not without importance. There is before all that transitional stage between the art of the Trecento and the international Gothic style, which we find in a fairly definite form in Lombardy before any other region in Italy, and as I remarked in the introduction, the situation of this province with its easy access to France, a country with which Lombardy was in constant relationship, and the proximity to Verona, where German art had an influence of long duration, made Lombardy the most likely centre for the development and growth of this art, in which so many different currents mingled. Certainly the Italian features are not strongly pronounced in these pictures, miniatures and drawings, in which, on the other hand, the resemblances to the late Gothic art of Central Europe are multiple. It is not only the likenesses which can be explained by the general dissemination of this art, the actual existence of which I pointed out in the introduction, but the drawings, perhaps more than the other productions, show resemblances in style with miniatures and even with sculptures of French origin, that are very striking. I would even say that the chiaroscuro effects of some of the paintings point to a study of plastic art.

What differentiates the second group of Gothic Lombard painters from the first, lies, as I have already pointed out, in the diminution of those calligraphic effects and in the absence of the shackles of preconceived aesthetic principles. In the works of this group of artists there is also a national Italian factor which can easily be recognized. The son of Besozzo, Leonardo, and even more so the Zavattari were inspired by artistic criteria of quite an Italian character, approaching the art of the Renaissance much more closely than the previous generation.

There is a series of frescoes which might be considered transitional between the first and second groups of Gothic art. These frescoes adorn three of the walls of a small room which gives on



Fig. 91. Taroc players, Lombard School, first half of the 15th century. Casa Borromeo, Milan.

Photo Lissoni.



Fig. 92 Society game, Lombard School, first half of the 15th century. Casa Borromeo, Milan.

Photo Lissoni.



Fig. 93. Leonardo da Besozzo, the Coronation of the Virgin.
S. Giovanni a Carbonara, Naples.

Photo Brogi.

to the courtyard of the Casa Borromeo in Milan. They represent the pastimes of a group of elegant young people who are seen sitting round a table, playing cards or occupied at other games; in one they are seen apparently clapping one another's hands, in another touching the head of a young man on his knees and in a third all in a row. All the scenes are depicted in the open air in a flowery field with trees and hills in the background (figs. 91 and 92). These frescoes are of considerable importance, even although they are purely decorative works and not of very great artistic value. The different attributions of them to various well known artists, among them even Pisanello ⁽¹⁾, seem to me all erroneous. The figures are much more elongated than those depicted by the Zavattari or Leonardo da Besozzo; on the other hand there is no trace of the conventional forms of the previous generation, so that these frescoes constitute, as I said before, the transition between the one and the other. The contemporary costumes and the individual facial traits which, however, have not much expression, give these paintings a wonderful charm.

To this stage of transition also belong the paintings of Leonardo da Besozzo ⁽²⁾, the son of Michelino, whom we found in 1421 working in collaboration with his father, but who afterwards went to Naples; at least his most important work is a series of frescoes in the church of S. Giovanni a Carbonara (fig. 93—95). This decoration must have been executed after 1433, for at this date the monument in commemoration of Gianni Caraccioli was erected in the chapel. He also signed two figures of saints — the Baptist and St. Augustine (?) — which adorn the monument of King Ladislas. Another fresco, from the same hand, is found near the monument.

⁽¹⁾ *L. Cust*, The Frescoes in the Casa Borromeo at Milan, *The Burlington Magazine*, XXXIII. 1918, p. 8, tends towards this opinion without being affirmative. *A. Venturi*, op. cit., p. 275, believes them to be by Michelino da Besozzo.

⁽²⁾ *H. W. Schulz*, op. cit., III, p. 189. *H. Brockhaus*, Leonardo da Bisuccio, *Studien zur Kunstgesch.* f. H. Springer, Leipzig, 1885. *Toesca*, Michelino da B. *The Same*, *Pittura e miniatura* etc., p. 474. *L. Serra*, Gli affreschi della Rotonda di S. Giovanni a Carbonaro. *Bolletino d'Arte del Minist. della P. I.* 1909, p. 121. *F. Malaguzzi Valeri* in *Thieme Becker's Künstler Lexikon*, III, p. 532. *W. Rolffs*, *Geschichte der Malerei Neapels*, Leipzig, 1910, p. 78.



Fig. 94. Detail of fig. 93.

Photo Alinari.

It is not known when Leonardo went to Naples, but he certainly remained there a considerable length of time. In 1454 he and Antonello del Perrino are the official painters of King Alfonso and together are charged with the execution of sixty-seven coats



Fig. 95. Detail of fig. 93.

Photo Anderson.

of arms of the royal house in the cathedral for the celebration of the death of the King of Castile. Two years later he receives, together with Francesco Cilopa, Agnello Abbati and Minichello Battipalla, 46 ducats for 920 standards and flags for the decor-



Fig. 96. Perinectus di Benevento?, the Annunciation. S. Giovanni a Carbonara, Naples.

Photo Anderson.

ation of the kitchen for a feast; then in 1458 he is paid 100 ducats for the ornamentation and gilding of the "room of angels" in one of the towers of the Castel Nuovo. Thirty years later he is

still mentioned as the official painter to the royal house and it is recorded that a pupil enters his studio.

We find his signature also in an illustrated universal chronicle which belonged to Signor Crespi, a collector in Milan. This work in all probability dates from his Neapolitan period, because the portraits of the Emperor Frederic I and King Charles of Sicily, both personages particularly important in the history of Southern Italy, are represented.

In 1490 a Franciscan monk, called Francesco da Besozzo, a miniaturist, is mentioned at Ferrara, but the relationship between him and the other artists of this name is yet unknown.

The figures on the tomb of King Ladislas still show the signature: "*Leonardus de Bissucio de Medeolano ornavit*", which, however, is repainted, but the date of 1428, recorded by older writers, is no longer visible. On account of restoration the figures of saints have lost much of their original character.

The other painting here from the hand of Leonardo is the angel of an Annunciation, of a very fine composition. As Signor Toesca, who was the first to ascribe this fresco to Leonardo, remarks, it belongs to a much more evolved style than the figures in the Caracciolo chapel, even than that of the Baptist which is close by.

In the chapel under a blue cupola we see two rows of paintings, illustrating the life of the Virgin and that of certain holy hermits, belonging to the order of St. Augustine. The Coronation of the Virgin (figs. 93—95) is depicted over the door, then on entering we find to the left the Annunciation (fig. 96) and lower down the Nativity of the Virgin (figs. 97—99) and to the right in a similar arrangement the Death of the Virgin and the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple (fig. 100). Between the windows there are eighteen large figures of Apostles and other saints in Gothic niches and in smaller proportions the figures of Gianni Caracciolo and his son Trojan.

Under the fresco of the Nativity of the Virgin we see very clearly inscribed the signature: "*Leonardus de Bisuccio de Mediolano hanc capellam et hoc sepulcrum pinxit*". All the same, in spite of this inscription he could not have decorated the entire chapel because in one of the scenes from the lives of the hermits we find the following signature: "*Perinect de benevento pinxit*".

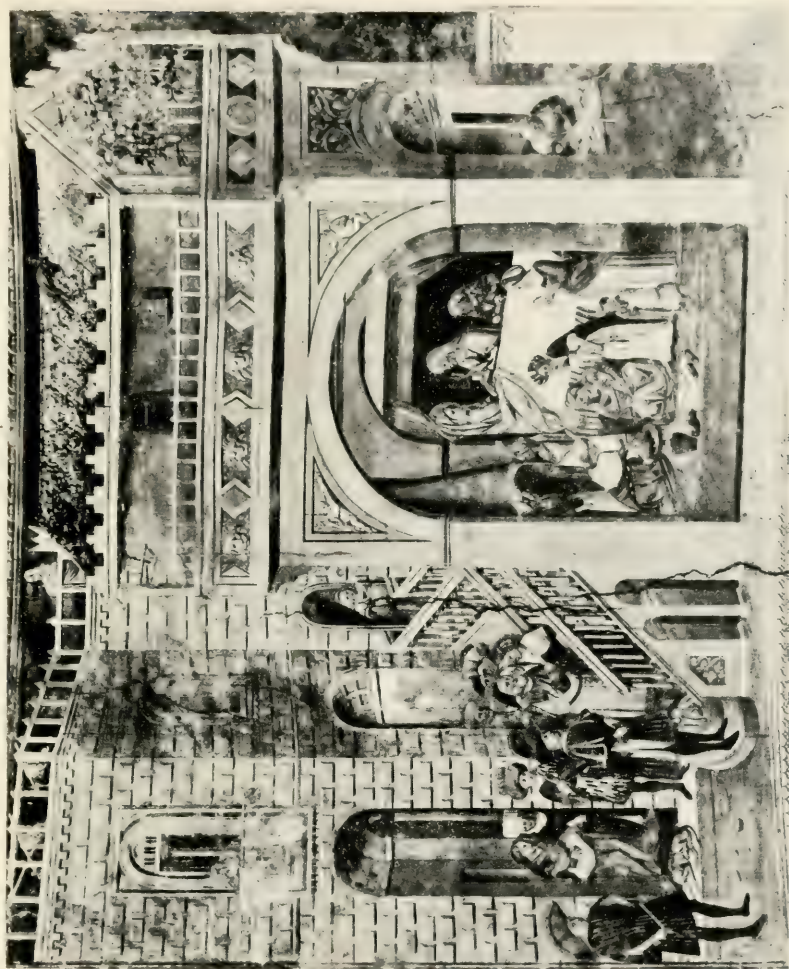


Fig. 97. Leonardo da Besozzo, the Nativity of the Virgin. S. Giovanni a Carbonara, Naples.

Photo Anderson.

The Coronation of the Virgin is the principal fresco and the attribution of it to Leonardo can not be called in doubt. The restorations which were carried out in 1609, 1753 and 1821 do not seem to have changed the appearance of this decoration, which is that of the school to which the artist belongs.

In the centre God the Father holds in his arms the group



Fig. 98. Detail of fig. 97.

Photo Anderson.

formed by the Virgin and the Saviour. The latter does not actually place the crown on the Virgin's head but seems sooner to bless her; a dove flies over their heads. A large number of cherubim and angels, many of whom play on musical instruments, form a frame around the central figures. In the four angles there

are groups of adorers, several of whom are portrayed with the radiant halo of the blessed. Those in the upper right corner alone are women. The figures below, particularly those to the left, show such individual facial features, that it would not be difficult to believe that they are genuine portraits. The angels belong to



Fig. 99. Detail of fig. 97.

Photo Anderson.

a special type on account of their pretty round faces, not unlike those depicted by the Zavattari; the type, as we shall see later on, slowly evolved from Lombard miniature painting. The draperies have not lost all trace of the calligraphic Gothic design, although here it is much less pronounced.

The Nativity of the Virgin contains an infinity of details from everyday life of the period. A group of figures is seen waiting outside the house in which the event takes place. Inside the Child

is about to be bathed, a charming little boy eats a biscuit; neighbours bring presents to the mother, an aged and solemn figure; to the right the cook prepares a roast while the cat waits in expectation of some titbits. Similar intimate details are represented in the upper storey of the house, such for example as the bird in its cage and the woman with a child walking on the roof, where some clothes are drying, as well as in the group in the street. The nobleman most in view seems to be the same as one depicted in the left lower corner of the Coronation of the Virgin. This figure and the one most to the left, who looks at the spectator, are no doubt also portraits⁽¹⁾.

We find here then a thoroughly genre manner of painting; the spirit is a little less elegant and less chivalrous than that of the frescoes of Altichiero and Avanzo but the idea is certainly that of placing the events in contemporary surroundings full of details of every day life.

The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple is shown in the simplest of compositions. In a flower garden in front of the temple we see St. Anna and Joachim while Mary ascends the four — instead of fifteen — steps which lead to the door of the sanctuary where the high-priest awaits her. Trees are represented on the other side of the garden wall. The figures are fairly well executed — that of the high-priest, however, is badly damaged — and the faces are not lacking either in finesse or expression but the surroundings are very poor, especially in comparison with the charming houses of the previous fresco, and I feel inclined to admit that this part of the decoration was left to Perinectus da Benevento.

The same, I think, can be said for the fresco of the Annunciation, where we find some of the same decorative motifs in the architecture as in the painting of the Nativity of the Virgin but the building itself is so clumsy, that it is difficult to ascribe it to the same artist. The Virgin, seated at her lectern, and the angel

(1) I think that the figures looking at the spectator are often portraits of the painters themselves. This special direction of the eyes results from the fact that auto-portraits are executed with the aid of mirrors. When a figure is thus depicted, it is all the more striking, because there is seldom more than one in a picture.

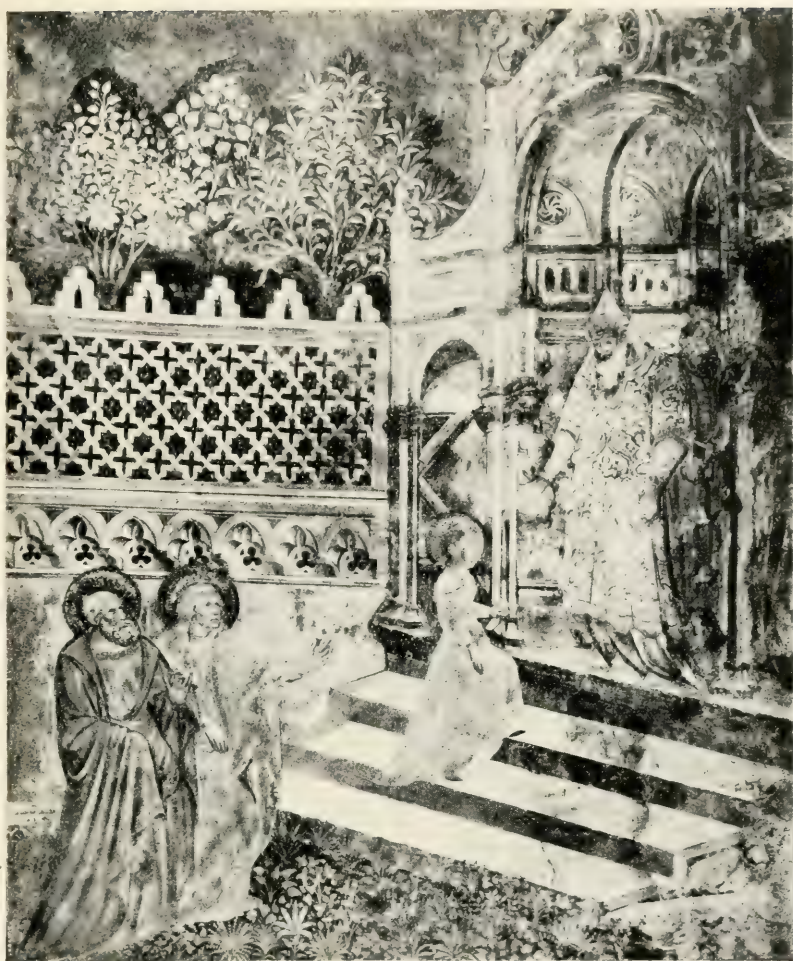


Fig. 100. Perinectus da Benevento(?), the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple. S. Giovanni a Carbonara, Naples.

Photo Alinari.

who descends towards her, are not very pleasing and moreover seem to be considerably repainted; nevertheless the resemblance, particularly to the Madonna of the Coronation, is too obvious to doubt of these figures being by a collaborator of Leonardo. In the Death of the Virgin, the figures near her bed are very expressive. The iconography of this fresco, which is in a bad state of preservation, is that of the Byzantine tradition; the

Apostles are grouped around the dying Madonna, the Saviour, in the midst of angels, appears in order to carry away the soul of His Mother; in the foreground an angel cuts off the hands of the unbelieving Jew, who attempted to stop the bier.

As for the scenes from the lives of the hermits of the order of St. Augustine (fig. 101), I think the help of Perinectus was more called upon than in the rest of the decoration, nevertheless in many instance we can discover the hand of Leonardo; even in the fresco showing the signature of the painter from Benevento, I think that the figures have been executed by Leonardo. The background with trees, similar to those in the Presentation of the Temple, and the architecture are certainly by Perinectus, who besides signed his name on one of the buildings. It is true that the figures of hermits here are inferior to those in Leonardo's other frescoes, but the difference is still greater if we look at the very mediocre figures of some of the other frescoes of this series, as for instance those in the first scene on the lower row, with the background showing those large effects of perspective that Lorenzetti often shows.

In the second scene here — the hermits and the angelic musicians — and also in the third, the hand of Leonardo is very evident, only however, in the figures ⁽¹⁾.

In any case it will be understood that we are dealing here with a very close collaboration between an able master and a rather feeble assistant, who lacked all originality and was entirely dependent on his preceptor.

Herr Rolffs still attributes to Leonardo a fresco of St. Peter saying mass, which adorns the entrance of the church of S. Pietro ad-Aram, and which dates from before 1456 ⁽²⁾. We see here also some fragmentary remains of another painting. This critic ascribes to Leonardo's manner some repainted panels against a gold background in the chapel of Sta. Monica; they represent the Madonna, two angels and SS. Philip, James, John and Augustine.

An authentic work by Leonardo da Besozzo is the above mentioned universal chronicle, which belonged to the Crespi collect-

⁽¹⁾ *Toesca*, loc. cit., is of a different opinion.

⁽²⁾ *Rolffs*, op. cit., p. 84.

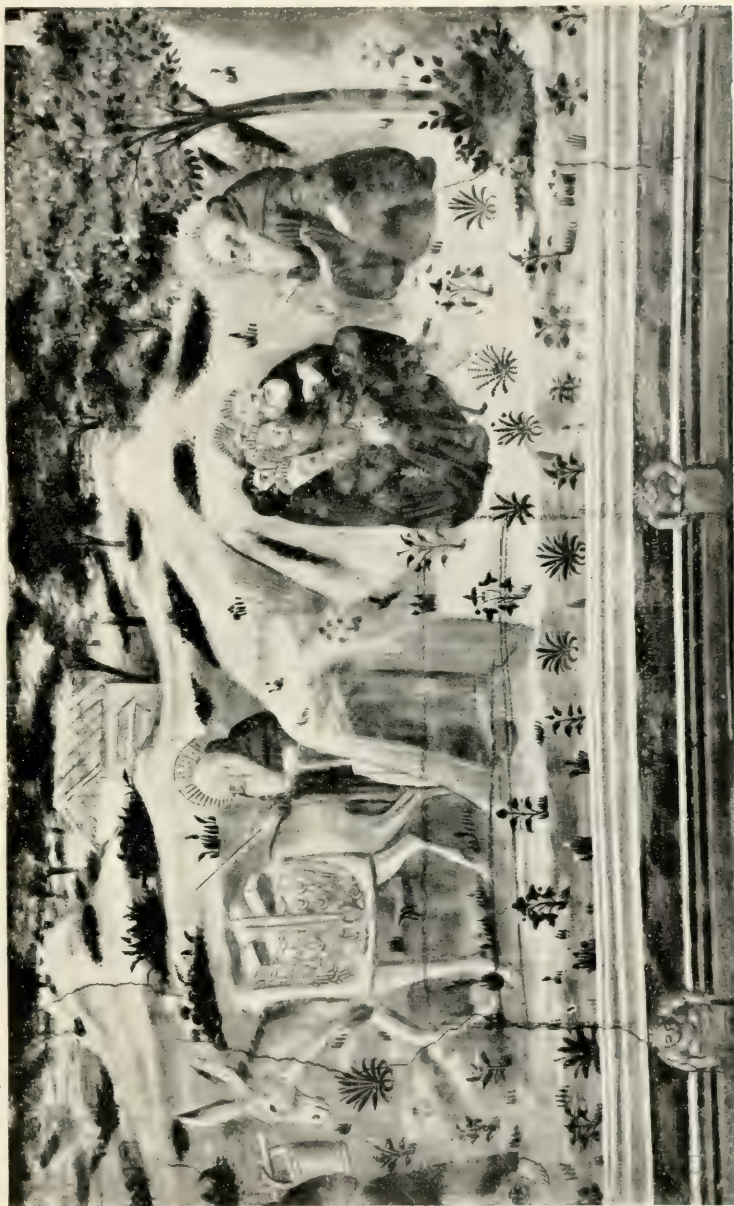


Fig. 101. Leonardo da Besozzo and Perinectus da Benevento, scenes from the life of Augustinian hermits. S. Giovanni a Carbonara, Naples.

Photo Anderson.

ion in Milan and which shows at the end the signature: "*Leonardus (de mediolano) de Bissutio pinxit...*" Each page is divided into three rows, most of which are composed of three figures, beginning with Adam and Eve and continuing with the important personages of mythology, classical and biblical history and other subjects which were commonly represented in profane decoration of this period. As others before me have observed, the first page is of a much finer technique than the others, the style is more developed and more after the manner of the Florentine Renaissance; besides, a representation, strongly resembling the cathedral of Florence in one of the miniatures, confirms the presence of Florentine elements in these illuminations and it has been thought possible that this codex is a copy of a Florentine original. Further, as has been remarked, there is such a marked likeness between some of the miniatures of the chronicle and certain of the later drawings in the sketch-book, supposed to be by Giusto da Padova, in the Print Room of Rome (¹), that Signor Toesca admits the existence of a Florentine prototype, which would have been copied by Leonardo and by the artist of the album in Rome, as well as by a fairly mediocre master, who illuminated a universal chronicle now in the Library of Turin (²). The same critic believes, that it was in copying this supposedly Florentine codex, that Leonardo became more familiar with the Florentine school, elements of which he even discovers in the frescoes in Naples, but this I fail to see. Leonardo started as an adherent of the Lombard school and it is chiefly the elements from this art which form the basis of his manner, but he underwent a considerable evolution which estranged him from his father's style and that of the artist of the Casa Borromeo.

The miniaturist, who illustrated a Hebrew codex of Avicienna in the University Library of Bologna (2197), was directly inspired by Leonardo (³).

(¹) *A. Venturi*, *Il libro dei disegni di Giusto*, Le Gallerie Nazionali Italiane, IV, 1901, p. 345; V, 1902, p. 391.

(²) *Toesca*, op. cit., p. 489¹.

(³) *P. Giacosa*, *Magistri Salernitani*, Turin, 1901, p. 462. *Toesca*, op. cit., p. 490. *Suida*, *Lomb. Malerei*, thinks that Leonardo da Besozzo's influence is noticeable in two panels, representing the martyrdom of St. Lucy and of St. Appollonia, in the Gallery of Bergamo, but as we shall see later on, they are works of Venetian origin.



Fig. 102. Miniature, Lombard School, circa 1370. National Library, Paris.

Photo Catala.

There are certain Lombard miniatures of the end of the 14th century, which obviously pave the way to the art of the Zavattari. These are found in a manuscript of the romance "Lancelot du Lac" in the National Library, Paris (Ms. fr. 343) (fig. 102), which although written in French is of Italian calligraphy and besides, comes from the fine library that Gian Galeazzo Visconti had in

his castle at Pavia. Another French codex in the National Library (français 6964) contains some illustrations of which only the preparatory pen and ink sketches exist, but they are obviously from the same hand as the previous works and originate from the same place. All the illuminations are naturally full of mounted knights, completely mailed; then there is a fair profusion of architecture and trees, the latter rather rigid. All these illustrations contain



Fig. 103. Miniature, Lombard School, circa 1400. National Library, Paris.

Photo Catala.

something of the art of the 14th century, to which period the manuscripts actually belong, because they certainly date from about the year 1370. It is of a certain interest to observe that these illuminations more closely resemble in style actual pictures than miniatures. On looking at the reproductions one might take them for a series of frescoes of the 14th century, decorating some castle in the north of Italy. The Gothic calligraphic effects are completely absent. Of a slightly more advanced stage of development was the miniaturist, who illustrated the romance "Guiron le Courtois", also in the National Library, Paris (fr. nouv. acq. 5243) (figs. 103 and 104). The same remarks that I made with regard to the previous manuscript of "Lancelot du Lac" apply also to this

one, but the execution here is finer, showing on the part of the artist a veritable preoccupation for the aesthetic, not only in the technique, which is more skilful, but also in the less primitive drawing which no doubt accounts for the fact that this codex seems to date from several decades later; this artist too was very



Fig. 104. Miniature, Lombard School, end of the 14th century. National Library, Paris.

Photo Catala.

eclectic in his choice of human types. He has depicted comely well-made young men and women, not very vivacious, but with pretty faces of a round shape with sweet pleasant expressions.

I do not wish to follow Signor Toesca⁽¹⁾ in his enumeration of the other productions of this group, which forms quite a little school of illustrations of romances of chivalry which existed in Lombardy, because with but one or two rare exceptions, all the codices, illustrated in this manner, belong to this category of literature. The appearance of these miniatures and their style, which

⁽¹⁾ Toesca, op. cit., p. 384.

is generally large and not at all calligraphic, clearly reveal the connection between them and the profane decoration of the old castles.

The frescoes of the Zavattari at Monza obviously belong to the same artistic movement. Not only has this series of paintings the appearance of a profane decoration, but the types of the young and charming figures with their round faces and youthful, serene and pleasing features, bear a strong resemblance to those of the manuscript of "Guiron le Courtois".

This series of frescoes by the Zavattari in the chapel of Queen Teodolinda in the cathedral of Monza ⁽¹⁾ is one of the finest ensemble of mural decorations in Italy and of great importance also on account of the number and extent of the paintings. The work is signed by an inscription of four lines, above which we see the date of 1444; the signature reads: "*De Zavattaris hanc ornare capellani*", and from the rest of the signature one gathers the impression that the figures in the vault had been executed previously by other painters. The types of the figures, depicted here (fig. 105), with their rather curious faces, seated in conversation or at desks or again standing near pieces of furniture or in rich Gothic niches, are clearly more closely reminiscent of the style of Michelino da Besozzo or the de Veris, than that of the Zavattari.

The long story of Queen Teodolinda, her arrival in Italy, her marriage, her entry in triumph, the death of Agehalf, her second marriage, her dream regarding the construction of a basilica, the foundation and endowment, the sending of the sacraments and relics by Pope St. Gregory, the funeral of Teodolinda, the coming of the Emperor Constantine III, all this and many other events from the history of the Queen are illustrated in the multiple frescoes that adorn the chapel (pl. 2 and figs. 106—109). Two fragments from this series, showing the crowned head of a youthful person, are found in the Trivulzio collection in Milan ⁽²⁾.

The beautiful costumes, the elegant gatherings, the banquet scenes, the horses and the dogs give to these frescoes the appear-

⁽¹⁾ C. Fumagalli e L. Beltrami, *La Cappella della Regina Teodolinda nella basilica di S. Giovanni a Monza*, Milan, 1891. Toesca, op. cit., p. 492.

⁽²⁾ Toesca, loc. cit. Salmi, *L'Arte*, 1923, p. 149. P. D'Ancona, *Dedalo*, IV, 1923—24, II, p. 361.



STORY OF QUEEN TEODOLINDA

By the Zavattari Brothers, Cathedral, Monza.

Photo Alinari.

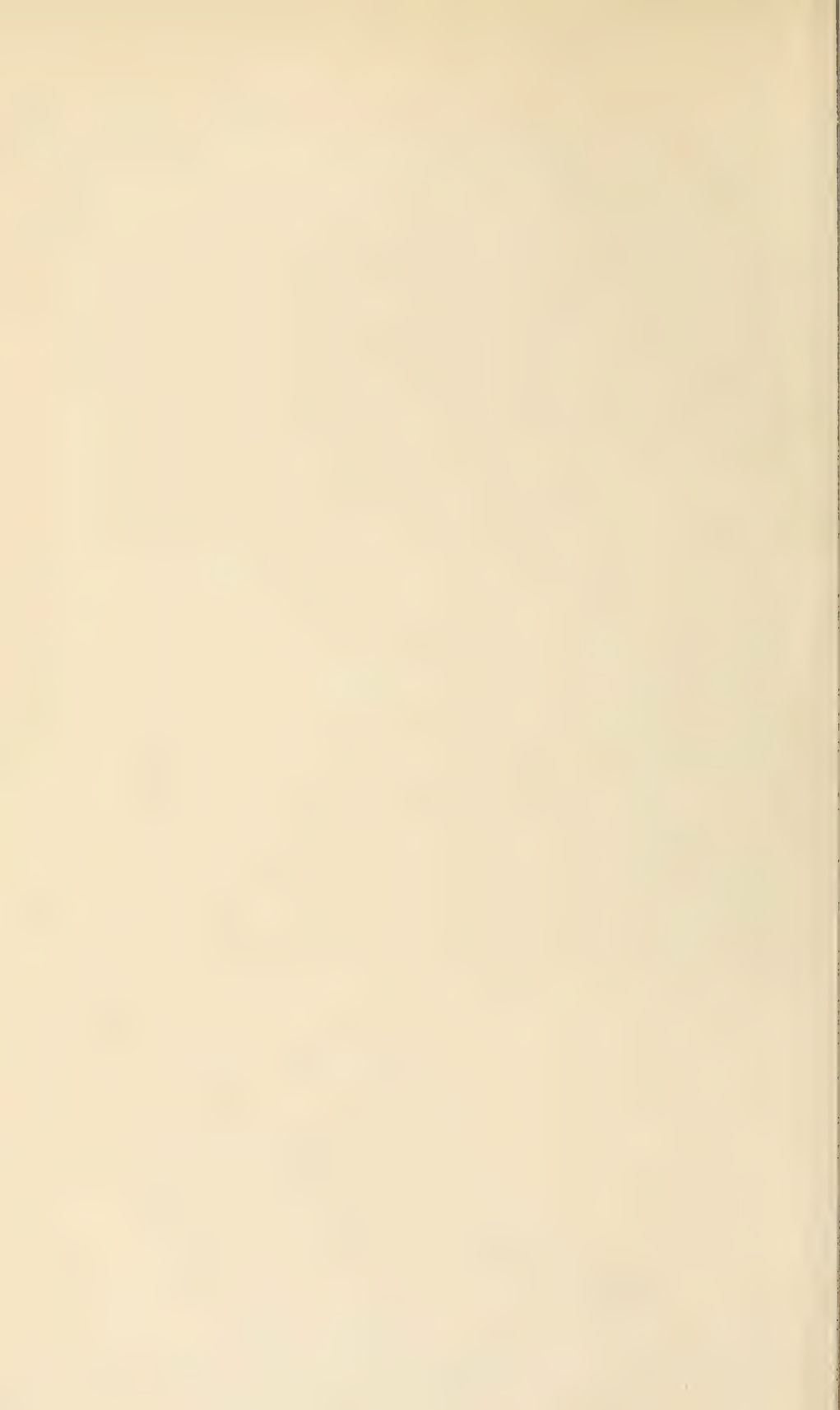




Fig. 105. Lombard School, frescoed ceiling, first half of the 15th century.
Teodolinda chapel, Cathedral, Monza.

Photo Alinari.

ance of genre painting. All the same we do not find that profusion of details that Leonardo da Besozzo put in his scenes; even the architecture does not fill a preponderating rôle but is reduced to forming a frame around the events represented. These frescoes are very decorative, as much on account of the multitude of

figures, as because of the abundance of ornamental detail. The design of the gold backgrounds is all worked in relief as is also that of the crowns, the girdles and parts of the harness. As



Fig. 106. The Zavattari brothers, the story of Queen Teodolinda.
Cathedral, Monza.

Photo Alinari.

narrative paintings the scenes have no value, because there is no action, nor is there any expression on the faces.

The paintings sooner comprise well arranged groups of beautiful people. The differences between the various frescoes arise from the fact that several painters, as the inscription indicates, took part in this decoration.

Of the other extant works by the Zavattari, we might cite a fresco of the Virgin and Child between two holy knights at Sta. Maria presso S. Celso, but it is the production of a less mature stage in the artist's career ⁽¹⁾.



Fig. 107. The Zavattari brothers, the story of Queen Teodolinda. Cathedral, Monza.

Photo Alinari.

In the Chapter House Library at Monza there is a Crucifixion which might also be attributed to them. By the same painters are some remains of frescoes in the second court of the Casa Borromeo in Milan, among which we see a group of elegant young

⁽¹⁾ *Toesca*, op. cit., p. 491, find that this work is executed in a style mid-way between that of Michelino da Besozzo and that of the Zavattari.

people in a ship and children playing the lute. Another fragment must have formed part of a martial scene and shows soldiers blowing trumpets, while a third ruined fresco illustrates a shipwreck, the victims rescued by saints.



Fig. 108. The Zavattari brothers, the story of Queen Teodolinda. Cathedral, Monza.

Photo Alinari.

I think we should still attribute to them two not very fine drawings in silver point, relieved in white on red paper, one representing a woman seated on the ground, holding a falcon in her hand, the other a personification of Justice — a female figure, seated, holding a sword and a balance⁽¹⁾. Lastly it is possible that the Zavattari executed also the decoration in the vault of the

(1) *Toesca*, *Disegni d'antica scuola lombarda*, *L'Arte*, 1907, p. 53.

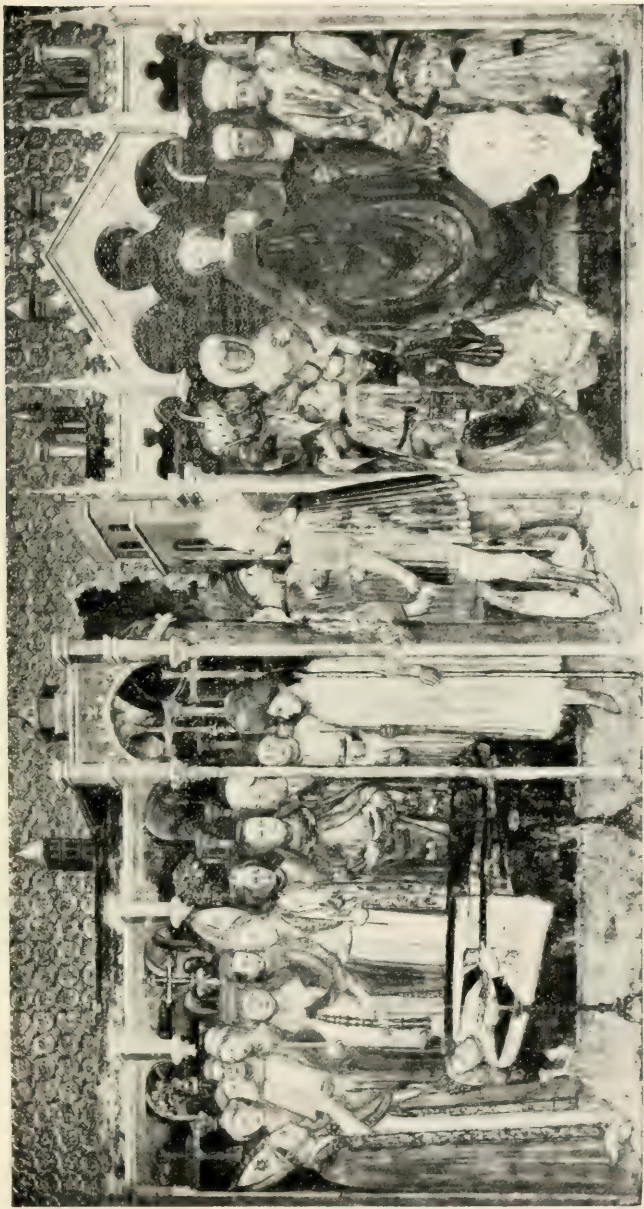


Fig 109. The Zavattari brothers, the story of Queen Teodolinda. Cathedral, Monza.

Photo Alinari.

Torriani chapel in S. Eustorgio, Milan, which has often been ascribed to Pisanello ⁽¹⁾. It shows in each division of the vault the symbol of an evangelist and two other figures.

If I have ascribed works of rather different appearance and quality to the Zavattari, it is because I think that there were several artists who worked in collaboration and the result of this collaboration must pass under the one name. Belonging to the Zavattari family we know of the following painters: Cristoforo active in 1404, Franceschino active in 1414 and 1417, Ambrogio active in 1456 and 1459, the Zavattari brothers who in 1465 executed some frescoes in S. Vincenzio in Prato, in Milan, and Gregorio Zavattari, who in 1475 decorated a sanctuary at Corbetta ⁽²⁾. All the above mentioned artists could very well have been active in 1444, the date at which the frescoes in Monza were painted, but we do not possess any indication as to which of the members of this family of artists were active there.

The Zavattari are the last figures of the Gothic Lombard painting of the 15th century. Even already there is a number of elements in their art which announces the approach of the style of the Renaissance, the style about to replace the Gothic calligraphic effects of which, besides, we find but little trace in the works of the Zavattari.

Productions belonging to the school of the Zavattari are found in considerable quantity; no doubt the numerous members of the family helped to disseminate this style.

Closely approaching the manner of the Zavattari and perhaps by a progeny of this artistic family are the paintings which decorate a pack of cards ⁽³⁾.

Decembrio informs us that as much as 1500 scudi were paid for playing cards which his secretary Marziano da Tortona had painted ⁽⁴⁾ and we have already seen that Michelino was charged

⁽²⁾ *Both de Tauzia*, Notice des dessins de la collection His de la Salle, Paris, 1881.

⁽³⁾ *Fumagalli e Beltrami*, op. cit., p. 11. *Ffoulkes e Marocchi*, op. cit., p. 23. *Toesca*, Pittura e miniatura etc., p. 500¹.

⁽⁴⁾ *E. di Parravicino*, Three packs of Italian Tarocco cards, The Burlington Magazine, III—IV, 1903—4, p. 237.

⁽²⁾ *A. A.*, Marziano da Tortona, Boll. della Soc. per gli studi etc. nel Tortonese, 1905.



Fig. 110. Taroc card, Lombard School, first half of the 15th century. Gallery, Bergamo.

Photo Ist. Ital. Arti Grafiche.



Fig. 111. Taroc card, Lombard School, first half of the 15th century. Gallery, Bergamo.

Photo Ist. Ital. Arti Grafiche



Fig. 112. Taroc card, Lombard School, first half of the 15th century. Gallery, Bergamo.

Photo Ist. Ital. Arti Grafiche.

with a similar work by Filippo Maria Visconti and it is just in the collection of the actual Duke Visconti di Mondrone that we find one of these packs, which, according to the coat of arms and the motto on one of the cards, must have been executed for Filippo Maria. It is impossible, however, to hold Michelino responsible for this decoration, which is executed after the style of the Zavattari; the forms are slightly more Gothic than in the frescoes of Monza and doubtless the decoration of the cards is of slightly earlier date. A pack of taroc cards, now in the Brambilla collection, Milan, was executed for the same prince and I should say by the same artist.

The style of the Zavattari is clearly noticeable also in another pack of taroc cards, divided between the Museum of Bergamo (figs. 110—115) and the collection of Count Colleoni of the same town, although the decoration of this pack is of a slightly later date, and Signor Toesca attributes one or two of the cards to Antonio Cicognara da Cremona.

More Gothic, on the other hand, is the decoration which adorns the cards in the Museum of Stuttgart⁽¹⁾. There is a similar pack in the Imperial Museum of Vienna and another of less importance in the Library of Turin⁽²⁾.

The charming miniatures in the Hebrew manuscript "R. Jacobus Ben Aser, Quatuor Ordines", formerly in the Rossiana of Vienna, now in the Vatican Library⁽³⁾, are remarkably little Gothic in character for the period, because, according to an inscription in the codex, they were executed in Mantua in 1436 (figs. 116 and 117). They are beautiful little pictures of a very fine technique, showing many costumes and other contemporary features. The connexion with the art of the Zavattari is not very evident.

A strong influence of the Zavattari is noticeable in the work of Jacopino Cietario, by whom a little glass triptych with the design engraved in gold is preserved in the collection of Prince

(1) *M. Geisberg*, Das Kartenspiel der K. Samml. in Stuttgart, Strasbourg, 1910.

(2) This pack of cards was destroyed by a fire in the library, but one can judge of the appearance of the decoration from Plate XXXII of *L'Arte antica all' Esposizione di Torino*, Turin, 1881.

(3) *Tietze*, op. cit., p. 110.



Fig. 113. Taroc card, Lombard School, first half of the 15th century. Gallery, Bergamo.

Photo Alinari.



Fig. 114. Taroc card, Lombard School, 2nd half of the 15th century. Gallery, Bergamo.

Photo Alinari.



Fig. 115. Taroc card. Lombard School, second half of the 15th century. Gallery, Bergamo.

Photo Alinari.

Trivulzio in Milan. The subjects depicted, are in the centre the Crucifixion and in the wings St. Michael slaying the dragon and the Virgin and Child.

The latter figure in particular leaves little doubt as to the source of the artist's inspiration. This little work of art is signed: "*Opus Jacobini Caetarii 1460*"⁽¹⁾.

That this artist must have been also a painter is, I think, con-



Fig. 116. Miniature, executed in Mantua circa 1436. Vatican Library, Rome.

firmed by the existence of a very important altar-piece. It is a large polyptych which I saw not very long ago in a private collection (fig. 118). The technique of the works is too different for us to come to an absolutely certain conclusion, but it seems to me highly probable that the gilt glass triptych and the polyptych are from the same hand. The central figure is here the Virgin

⁽¹⁾ P. Toesca, op. cit., p. 563. *The Same*, Vetri italiani a oro con graffiti, L'Arte, 1908, p. 257, reproduces another Lombard glass picture, designed in gold, showing the Adoration of the Child Christ, which is preserved in the Museum of Parma.

with the Child on her knee and two angels behind the throne, which is placed in a flowery field. A holy bishop and a young saint in a beautiful costume, holding a branch — is it the martyr's palm? — are depicted to the left, while SS. Peter and John the Baptist form their pendants to the right. The resemblance is specially noticeable in the figures of the Virgin and the Child, and



Fig. 117. Miniature, executed in Mantua circa 1436. Vatican Library, Rome.

the slightly Gothic line of the hem of the Madonna's dress is seen also in the gilt glass picture.

Another polyptych, belonging to the school of the Zavattari, is found in the Bagatti Valsecchi collection in Milan; it is of a more elaborate form, because, besides the Virgin and four saints, we see here the Lord and the figures of the Annunciation in the gables and saints and prophets in the predella (¹).

(¹) *P. Toesca, La Casa Bagatti Valsecchi in Milano, Milan, 1918, pl. XXXIII.*

A certain influence of the Zavattari is manifest in a panel in the Treasury of the cathedral of Milan, which shows the false signature of Michelino da Besozzo. It represents the Virgin with



Fig. 118. Jacopino Cietario, polyptych. Private Collection.

the Child standing on her knee against an ermine-lined drapery, supported by three angels, and the Presentation in the Temple. Among the archaisms of both the composition and the style, certain features can be discovered which lead us to believe that the painting must have been executed in the second half of the 15th century.

Moreover, the Gothic style had a particularly long life in Lombardy and continued to exist until after 1480. At least Cris-



Fig. 119. The Triumph of Death and the Fountain of Youth, Lombard School, middle of the 15th century. Palazzo Sclafani, Palermo.

Photo Alinari.

toforo di Moretti of Cremona, who was active until 1485, worked after this style ⁽¹⁾. Frequent mention of him is made in the docu-

⁽¹⁾ *M. Caffi*, *Avanzi di pitture del Moretto*, Arch. Stor. lombardo, 1879. *Malaguzzi Valeri*, *Pittori lombardi*, p. 81. *Toesca*, op. cit., p. 554.

ments from 1451 onward and apparently there existed a polyp-tych signed by him, which the abbate Lanzi still saw in the church of S. Aquilino in Milan.

In the Poldi Pezzoli Museum in Milan there is the only authentic work by di Moretti, a painting — previously in the Gabba collection — of the Virgin enthroned with the Child standing on her knee, which the artist signed on the base of the throne: "*Ipso Xpo De Moretis De Cre(m)ona*". The influence of the Zavattari is evident in this work, as it is in all the retardatory Lombard productions ⁽¹⁾. The crowns and nimbi, worked in relief, were also found in the frescoes at Monza.

Signor Toesca ascribes to the same hand a panel of the Virgin and two saints in the church of S. Calimero in Milan, and is of opinion that a picture of the Madonna between two saints, one of whom presents the donor, which was once for sale in Munich, closely approaches this artist's manner ⁽²⁾.

The type created by the Zavattari is clearly discerned in a Madonna, seated on the ground, holding the Child towards the donor, a monk, who is presented by a saint, which was formerly in the Crespi collection, Milan ⁽³⁾. Further his influence is obvious in the frescoes which Galeazzo Maria Visconti had executed about 1472 in the chapel of the castle in Milan, and on which Stefano de' Fedeli and Jacopino Vismara were employed ⁽⁴⁾; the angels in the vault, surrounding the resurrected Saviour, are executed specially in this manner and even recall on account of their Gothic character, the style of the da Besozzo.

Much less Gothic and belonging to a later generation is the triptych of St. Ursula, her companions, St. Peter and St. Paul in the seminary of S. Angelo in Brescia, which is attributed sometimes to Antonio Vivarini ⁽⁵⁾, sometimes to Antonio and Bartolommeo and sometimes even to Giambono. The painting, I

⁽¹⁾ *Malaguzzi Valeri*, loc. cit., finds an influence of Pisanello.

⁽²⁾ *Toesca*, op. cit., p. 555.

⁽³⁾ *A. Venturi*, La Galleria Crespi in Milano, Milan, 1900, p. 219, No. 41 of the catalogue of the Crespi sale, Paris, June 1914.

⁽⁴⁾ *L. Beltrami*, Il castello di Milano, Milan, 1894, p. 283. *Malaguzzi Valeri*, op. cit., p. 227. *Ffoulkes e Maiocchi*, op. cit., p. 81. *Toesca*, op. cit., p. 565.

⁽⁵⁾ Opinion held by *G. Frizzoni*, L'Arte, VII, 1904, p. 297, which has already been refuted by *L. Testi*, Storia della pittura veneziana, II, Bergamo, 1915, p. 334.

think, clearly reflects the aesthetic principles of the Zavattari's art, although in a more developed form.

Several other less important Lombard paintings in which the influence of the Zavattari can be discovered, have been enumerated by Signor Toesca⁽¹⁾ and to this list I think should be added



Fig. 120. Detail of fig. 119.

Photo Alinari.

(¹) *Toesca*, op. cit., p. 513 et seq. Crucifixion and saints in the church of Monsoro, near Milan; Coronation of the Virgin and angels in Sta. Lucia, Cremona; Madonna between SS. Cosme and Damian, a fresco of 1448, detached from the same church and now in the museum, the journey of the Wise Men, a detached fresco in the Museo Civico, Milan. *Toesca*, op. cit., p. 557; Madonna della Misericordia in the Castle of Milan; Crucifixion in S. Calocero, Milan; different frescoes from the Life of Christ in Sta. Maria del Tiglio at Gravedona. *V. Barrelli*, S. Mario del Tiglio, Rivist. archeol. Comense, 1873, p. 1.

a fresco of the Adoration of the Magi in the oratory of Scarenna (Brianza) ⁽¹⁾. It is the work of a somewhat rustic retardatory artist of the second half of the 15th century and in parts does not even seem to be finished; none the less the Gothic Lombard characteristics are obvious and certain features are reminiscent of the art of the Zavattari.

I am rather inclined to accept the opinion that the frescoes representing the Triumph of Death in the Sclafani Palace, afterwards the hospital and later the barracks of Palermo, are from the hand of a Lombard artist (figs. 119 and 120) ⁽²⁾. As we know that Leonardo da Besozzo was active in Naples, it is natural to turn our thoughts in his direction, but certain of the facial types sooner recall those that we find in the frescoes of the Zavattari, while others seem to reveal a knowledge of Flemish art, productions of which were fairly numerous in Naples and in Sicily in the 15th century. The composition is rather grandiose. In the centre, against a background of vegetation, Death armed with a sword and a bow, crushes under the hoofs of her horse, those who thoughtlessly give themselves over to worldly joys, leaving behind the miserable creatures, who implore her to put an end to their existence. In this corner there are two portraits of men, looking at the spectator; one of them seems to hold a brush and painter's baton, the other a small recipient and it might easily be believed that they are the portraits of artists and, if such be the case, of those who, together, must have executed this fresco. In this painting there are some interesting details of faces very significative of an empty useless life; the madman playing the harp near the Fountain of Youth is very striking. The presence of this marvellous fountain also points to a northern influence, because, as will be seen later on, the Fountain of Youth appears first in Piedmontese art and was a favourite subject in French painting in particular.

In this survey of Lombard Gothic painting, we ought to include the early productions of Vincenzo Foppa and the works of Bembo and Donato di Bardi, but as these artists sooner belong

(1) *U. Nebbia*, La Brianza, Bergamo, 1912, p. 124.

(2) *E. Müntz*, Le Triomphe de la Mort à l'Hospice de Palerme, Gazette des Beaux Arts, 1901, p. 223.



Fig. 121. Paolo da Brescia, altar-piece, 1458. Gallery, Turin.

Photo Anderson.

to the fully developed Renaissance, we shall deal with them in another volume.

I feel, however, justified in mentioning them here in order to demonstrate that the art of these painters found its origin in their Lombard precursors and that there is no reason to look to Verona for the source of their inspiration, as several critics have done.

I shall mention, still a few works which, although of late date,

are too Gothic not to be included in this group; they do not, however, show a particular influence of the Zavattari.

An artist who was still thoroughly Gothic, was Paolo da Brescia, who in 1458 signed a fairly important polyptych, originating from the church of S. Lorenzo at Mortara, now in the Gallery of Turin (No. 141), on which we read: "*Paulus Brisiensis pinxit MCCCCLVIII die V. M.*" (fig. 121) ⁽¹⁾. The central panel shows the Virgin sitting on a throne, decorated with angels, the Child Jesus lying asleep on her knee; to the left are depicted SS. Amelius and Laurence and to the right SS. Albinus and Amicus. The upper part of each of the panels is adorned with a medallion, containing the half-length figure of Christ in the centre and at the sides two scenes from the legend of two of the saints and two seated figures of bishops.

In spite of the fact that the figures show certain details of technique which betray a knowledge on the part of the artist of contemporary painting, there are Gothic calligraphic effects which connect this work with the art of the beginning of the 15th century.

Of a slightly earlier date than the polyptych by Paolo da Brescia are a charming Madonna, seated on the ground, holding the naked Child on her knee, which belongs to the Suida collection in Vienna ⁽²⁾ and another picture in the Chillingworth collection, in which the Virgin and Child are accompanied by four angels ⁽³⁾. Other works after this style and in which the Gothic effects are even more pronounced, are found in the chevet of the cathedral of Milan where to the left two panels of a triptych of which the third panel is missing, show the Madonna with the Child and two angels, dressed according to contemporary fashion, and St. John the Baptist, standing in a field. Close by a painting of Christ on the Cross with the Virgin, St. John and two other saints — SS. Julian and Sebastian? — seems to be of a slightly

⁽¹⁾ C. J. Ffoulkes, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1902, p. 4, finds that there is no reason to identify Paolo da Brescia with Paolo Calino, a painter of Brescia, who is mentioned in 1458, as is done in the catalogue of the Gallery of Turin. v. also Ffoulkes e Maiocchi, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

⁽²⁾ Suida, *op. cit.* Toesca, *op. cit.*, p. 577.

⁽³⁾ No. 97 of the Chillingworth sale, held in Lucerne, September 1922.



Fig. 122. The Adoration of the Magi, Lombard School, first half of the 15th century. Municipal Museum, Milan.

earlier date⁽¹⁾. Among the pictures in the museum in the Sforza castle, there is one (No. 3) representing the Adoration of the Magi (fig. 122), in which many of the personages are attired in beautiful costumes of the time, which should be included in this category of painting⁽²⁾ as also a detached fresco in the Brera Gallery (No. 2), representing the Madonna, St. Christopher and St. Francis receiving the stigmata, which, however, has a somewhat more primitive appearance.

A three-quarter-length figure of the enthroned Virgin, holding the Child, which was quite recently for sale in Rome, belongs to this group.

Outside Milan we still find some works executed after this style but they are not of great importance. As such might be cited, the Virgin between two saints in the Museum of Pavia⁽³⁾, a Madonna in the Correr Museum, Venice, some votive frescoes in the church of S. Francesco at Lodi, at Castel S. Pietro, near Balerna, at Montecarasso (1427), in the little church of the Carmine, near Cannobio (1431 and 1439), a Last Judgment of 1442 at Biandrate, in the region of Novara⁽⁴⁾, a detached fresco of the Madonna nursing the Child, in the Museum of Mantua, in the Cathedral of the same town a Madonna and Child with St. Leonard on the first altar to the left in the first chapel to the right, a Madonna and two holy bishops, painted in the stairs of the pulpit in the same church and many others⁽⁵⁾, for the greater part works of a very rustic appearance, which does not go very well together with the calligraphic style of which the primary element is a refinement of drawing and form, a feature which is entirely lacking in these works.

(1) *A. Nava*, *Memorie e documenti intorno al Duomo, Milan*, 1854, p. 193. *V. Constantini*, *La pittura in Milano, Milan*, 1921, p. 145, informs us that this last representation is attributed to Isacco da Imboscata (1423).

(2) An unusual iconographical detail is the apparition in the sky of God the Father.

(3) *A. Colasanti*, *Gentile da Fabriano, Bergamo*, 1909, p. 39.

(4) *A. Massara*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1906, p. 170, mentions several painters of Novara of the beginning of the 15th century.

(5) Most of these paintings are enumerated by *Toesca*, *op. cit.*, pp. 473¹, 515. A curious picture of the Virgin between SS. Michael and Joan of Arc, perhaps of Lombard origin, is found in the Museum of Versailles: *C. Ricci*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1920, p. 137.

Some frescoes of 1475, representing hunting scenes, in the oratory of the old Castiglioni College at Pavia, reveal reminiscences of a Gothic style of a much earlier period⁽¹⁾.

Also in the field of miniature painting, works were created which, for a considerable length of time, retained the Gothic features of the beginning of the 15th century, and it is just on account of the continuation of this style, that Lombardy reveals itself to have been more conservative than almost any of the other provinces in Italy, where, at least during the second half of the century, works in this style are entirely unknown. This shows to what extent the cosmopolitan Gothic manner became firmly rooted and flourished in Lombardy. The "Traité des Oiseaux", executed in 1459 for Francesco Sforza, now in the Condé Museum at Chantilly⁽²⁾, does not show a very much more advanced stage of evolution than the works of Giovannino de' Grassi, while in the Print Room in Berlin there is a codex of the "Acerba" by Cecco d'Ascoli, which, on first sight, might easily be ascribed to the very first years of the 15th century, but which bears the date of 1475⁽³⁾.

There is a certain number of productions of the cosmopolitan Gothic style of the beginning of the 15th century in Piedmont⁽⁴⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *Malaguzzi Valeri*, La Corte di Lodovico il Moro, I, pp. 732, 747.

⁽²⁾ *Malaguzzi Valeri*, op. cit., I, p. 714. One of the miniatures representing birds in and above a pool of water, which is reproduced by Malaguzzi Valeri, bears a strong resemblance to a drawing in silver point on parchment in the Vallardi collection, fol. 259 (reprod. 142).

⁽³⁾ *P. D'Ancona*, Un codice dell' Acerba di Cecco d'Ascoli, L'Arte, 1920, p. 120.

⁽⁴⁾ *E. Berteà*, Pittori e pitture pinerolese del Med. Ev., Bollet. Stor. Subalpino, II, 1897. *Dufour et Rabut*, Les peintres et les peintures en Savoie, Mem. et Doc. publ. p. l. Soc. Savoisienne d'hist. et d'archéol., XII. *Gamba*, L'Arte antica in Piemonte, Turin, XXV, 1880, p. 527. *A. Mellani*, Affreschi nella Valle d'Aosta, Arte e Storia, 1900, p. 120. *Vaya*, Avanzi di antichi castelli etc. raccolti al Mus. Civ. di Torino, Att. della Soc. di archeol. e Bel. Art. per la prov. di Torino, I, 1903, p. 327. *Biscara*, Studio prepar. per un elenco degli edifici e monumenti nazon. del Piemonte, idem, II, 1904, p. 255. *Berard*, Antiquités romanes et du moyen âge dans la vallée d'Aoste, idem, III, 1905, p. 129. *A. Rocca-villa*, L'Arte nel Biellese, Biella, 1905, p. 115. *Rondolina*, La pittura torinese nel Med. Ev., Atti della Soc. d'Arch. e Bel. Art. per la prov. di Torino, VII, 1909, p. 206. *Venturi*, Stor. dell' arte ital., VII¹, p. 138.

Most of them are very rustic in appearance and of little importance but nevertheless are of a certain interest on account of the very direct influence of French miniature painting, which is obvious in them.

A series of frescoes in the castle of Manta, near Saluzzo⁽¹⁾, merits our particular attention because it is a fine example of profane decoration of the first half of the 15th century. The subject represented is taken from an old allegoric poem, "Le chevalier errant", by Tommaso III of Saluzzo, which relates how a certain person, guided by "Dame Knowledge" reaches "Dame Fortune"; then he sees nine great men — three from classical antiquity, three from the Old Testament and three from the Christian era — then nine heroines or the nine most chaste women. These subjects were very much in favour in France: Charles V, Charles VI, Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy and the Dukes of Savoia and Chambéry had tapestries adorned with the same subjects. Also in Tyrol in the castle of Runkelstein we find this legend narrated in the fresco decoration. That the subject in this instance was borrowed from France is very clear; besides, the countries were adjacent and this form of representation was much more wide-spread in France than elsewhere. Further, the inscriptions are in French and we find on the walls yet another decorative motif highly favoured in France⁽²⁾ but not unknown in Germany: it is the Fountain of Youth: old men are seen approaching the miraculous water and emerging quite young. These figurations are found executed in quite the same style in a miniature of a French manuscript in the National Library, Paris (français 12559)⁽³⁾. The frescoes of Manta must date from between

⁽¹⁾ *D. Muletti*, Storia di Saluzzo e dei suoi marchesi, IV. Saluzzo, 1833, p. 369. *C. Moschetti*, Un affresco del principio del sec. XV, Arch. Stor. dell' Ant. Marchesato di Saluzzo, 1901, p. 127. *P. D'Ancona*, Gli affreschi del Castello di Manta nel Saluzzese, L'Arte, 1905, p. 94. *F. Novate*, Un cassone nuziale senese e le raffigurazione delle donne illustri nell' arte italiana dei secoli XIV e XV, Rassegna d'Arte, 1910, p. 61. *P. Weber*, Die Bergünder der Piemonteser Malerschule, Strasbourg, 1911, p. 5. *Toesca*, Antichi affreschi piemontesi, Atti della Soc. di Arch. e Bel. Art., Turin, 1910, p. 3. *The Same*, Affreschi decorativi in Italia fino al secolo XIX, Milan, 1917, pls. 45, 46. *P. D'Ancona*, L'uomo e le sue opere nelle figurazione italiane del medioevo, Florence, 1923, pp. 29, 64, 157, 165, 167.

⁽²⁾ *D'Ancona*, L'uomo e le sue opere, p. 27.

⁽³⁾ *Novate*, op. cit.

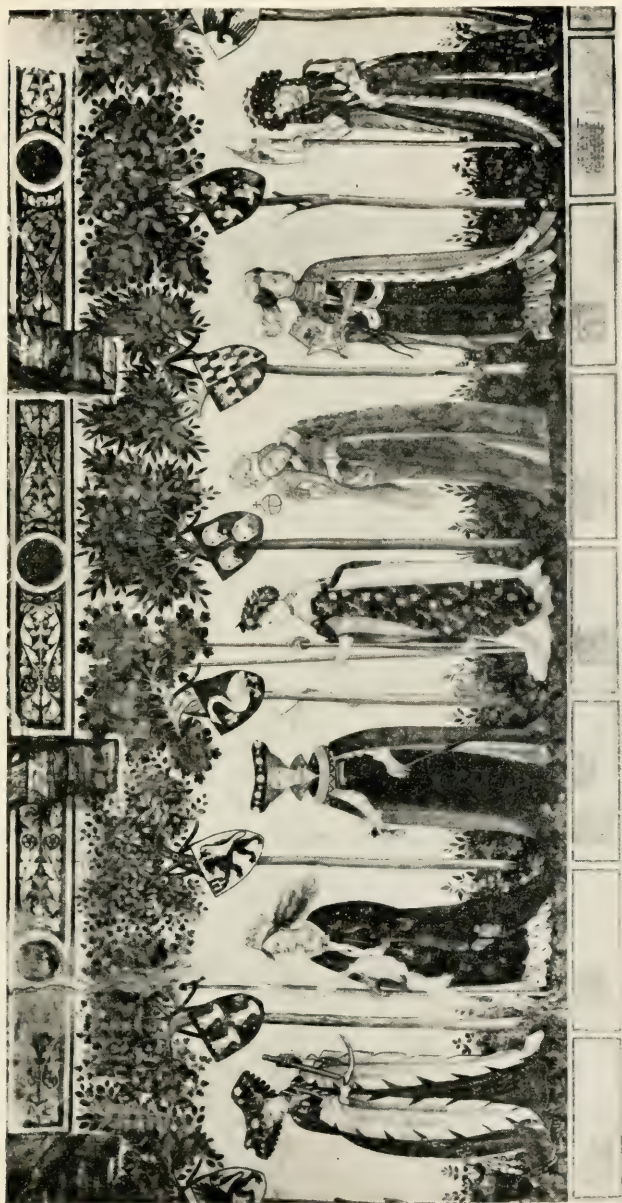


Fig. 123. Series of Heroines, Piedmontese School, first half of the 15th century. Castle, Manta.

Photo Alinari.

1411 and 1430. The figures of the heroes and heroines are depicted in very elegant costumes of the period, each one holding an emblem; they form rows or are divided from one another by trees on which coats of arms are attached (pl. III and fig. 123). The "Fountain of Youth" is seen in a flowery field, situated in a landscape of hills and trees (figs. 124 and 125). The scenes are full of realistic details, often amusing, sometimes even a little lewd.

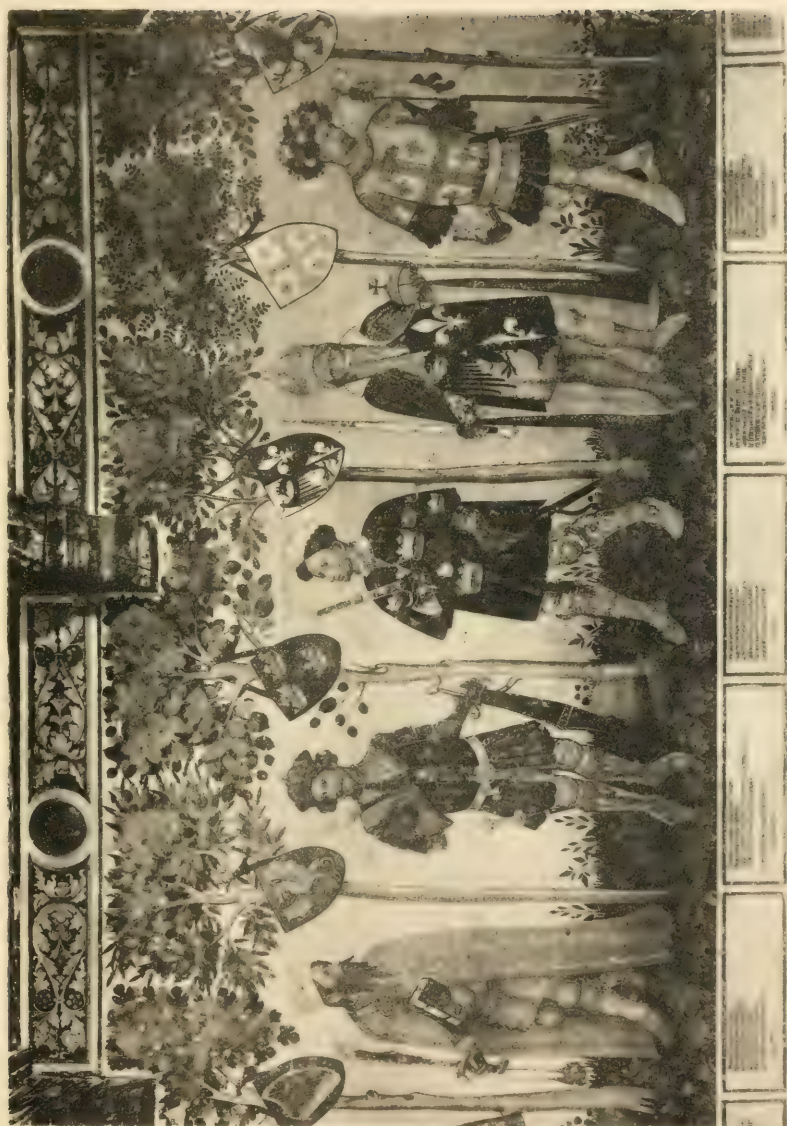
The parish church of Manta contains some frescoes also executed in this manner, representing scenes from the Life of Christ. Although a few Tuscan elements can be discovered in this work, the northern, and in particular the French features are more numerous.

On the outside of the episcopal palace in Saluzzo a fragment of Christ on the Cross with adorers is executed in the same style.

Of certain importance and in no way less French in appearance are the frescoes in the Castle of Fenis in the Val d'Aosta, where the courtyard walls show once more a series of famous men — heroes and sages — and a fresco of St. George slaying the dragon; in the chapel we find a series of saints, separated from one another by pillars or little Gothic towers (fig. 126), medallions containing the Virgin and angel of the Annunciation and other half-length figures, and ornamental borders, studded with medallions containing heads. The style in which these frescoes are executed is the same as that of the decoration of the castle of Manta but the quality in this case is considerably inferior and not without a provincial element.

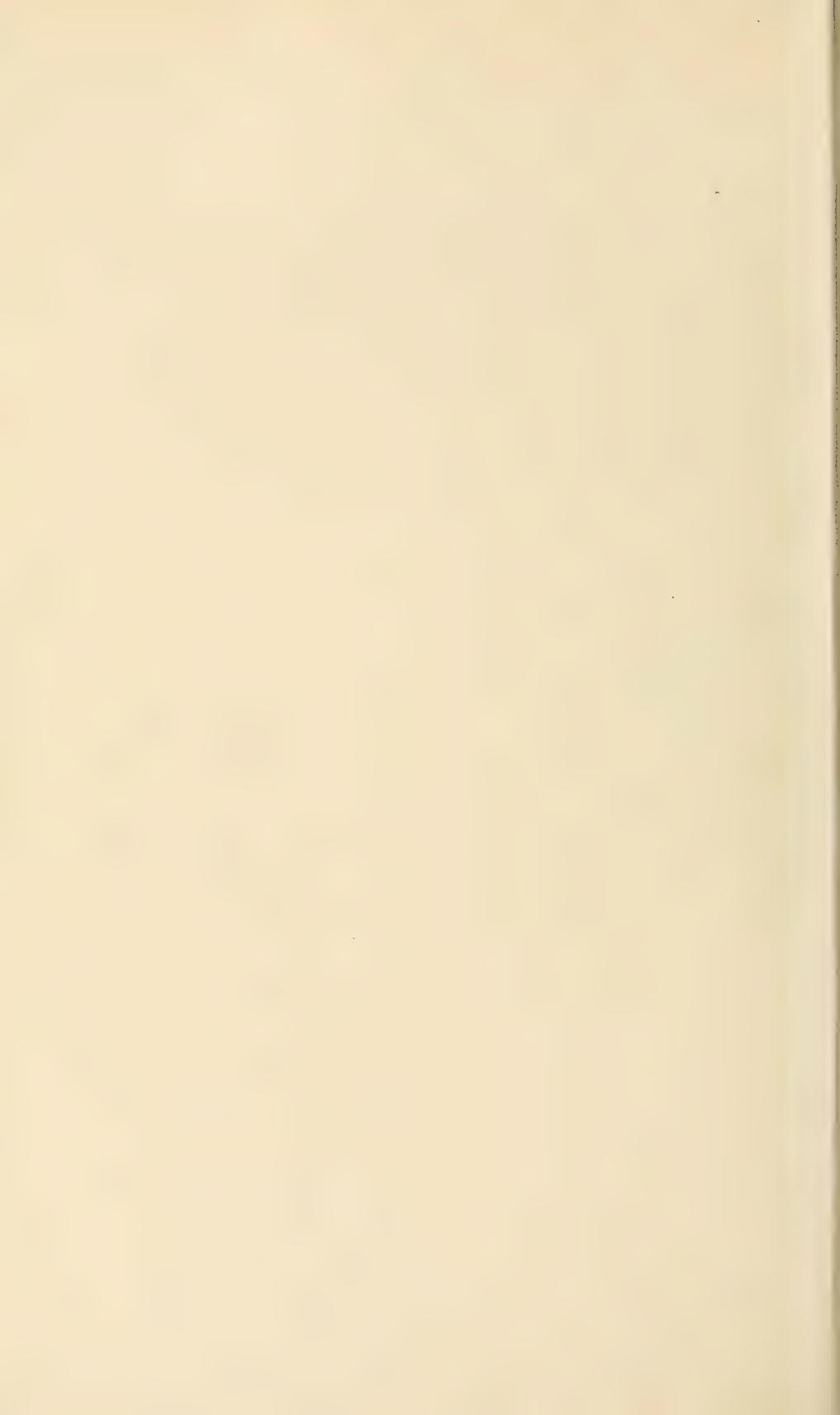
Among the other Gothic paintings of this period in Piedmont we must mention those, signed by Giacomo Jaquerio, in the church of S. Antonio at Ranverso⁽¹⁾. The signature of the artist is found between a fresco of the Virgin with the Child, Who bends towards an adorer and another of two prophets — King David and another personage — above which is inscribed the name: "*Jacobi Jaqueri d' Taurino.*" Some other isolated figures of saints can be ascribed to the same painter, such for example as SS. John

(1) *E. Berteà*, Gli affreschi di Giacomo Jaquerio nella chiesa di S. Antonio di Ranverso, Atti della Società Piemontese di Archeol. e Bel. Art., Turin, 1914. I have already referred to the older paintings in this church in Vol. IV, p. 277.



SERIES OF HEROES

Piedmontese School, first quarter of the XV century, Castle of Manta.



the Baptist, Antony Abbot, Martha, Margaret, and perhaps also the figure of the Ecce Homo and those of the two peasants who lead two pigs towards St. Antony Abbot, but not the fresco of



Fig. 124. The Fountain of Youth, Piedmontese School, first half of the 15th century. Castle, Manta. Photo Alinari,

the Virgin and Child between SS. Bernardine of Siena and Antony Abbot. Mention is made of a Giacomo Jacherio in 1415 and again at his death in 1453; doubtless these data refer to the same master. On account of the figure of St. Bernardine, the frescoes at Ranverso cannot date from much before 1450. The manner of painting is rather rustic but here and there one can discover reminiscences of the French style.



Fig. 125. The Fountain of Youth, Piedmontese School, first half of the 15th century. Castle, Manta. Photo Alinari.

At Villafranca, in the region of Saluzzo, the "della Missione" church contains some frescoes⁽¹⁾ which, on account of the subject, are of considerable importance; in a lunette to the left we see the Saviour between two rows of personifications of virtues, gesticu-

⁽¹⁾ *P. Toesca*, *Antiche affreschi piemontese: La Chiesa della Missione a Villafranca, Piemonte*, *Atti della Soc. Piem. di Archeol. e Bel. Art.*, VIII, 1910, p. 52.



Fig. 126. Saints, Piedmontese School, beginning of the 15th century. Chapel in the Castle, Fenis, Photo Alinari.

lating in animated conversation, and of vices astride different animals. The vault is adorned with the figures of the Evangelists and their symbols, while to the side we find a Madonna between two saints and a devotee and lower down five other saints. The

exaggerated expressions of the features give these frescoes an element of caricature. Further we see a Deposition, depicted with much feeling and expression, an Annunciation against an architectural background and lower down a figure of a holy martyr, fairly elegantly attired, showing the date 1474. From the same hand as this last figure are apparently the decoration of the vault, the Madonna with an adorer and the five saints. The other frescoes might be of an earlier date. However, we have here the work of a reactionary artist, who once again shows us a popular and rather crude adaptation of French forms, which are not very well expressed, with the exception of that graceful appearance which we see in French miniatures.

The Stoclet collection in Brussels contains an oblong panel, representing the Arrival of the Magi, clothed in magnificent costumes, before the Virgin and Child, which seems certainly to be a Piedmontese production of this artistic movement (fig. 127), as do also four half-length figures of saints, originally belonging to a larger picture, now in the Johnson collection, Philadelphia. They represent SS. Sebastian, Catherine of Alexandria, Margaret and Bartholomew. They are somewhat late productions of this movement⁽¹⁾.

The frescoes belonging to this group are, as I said before, fairly numerous in Piedmont⁽²⁾, and apart from religious or

⁽¹⁾ *B. Berenson*, Catalogue of a Collection of Paintings etc. (coll. J. G. Johnson, Philadelphia), I, Italian Paintings, Philadelphia 1913, nos. 260, 261, dates them as late as about 1475 and classifies them as South East Piedmontese.

⁽²⁾ I shall not describe them in detail; besides there are several which are unknown to me. The list given by Prof. *Venturi*, op. cit., VII¹, pp. 139 and 146 includes: Bastia, S. Fiorenzo; Gaglione, chapel of S. Stefano; Salbertrand outside of the parish church; Melezet, S. Antonio; Milaures, chapel of S. Andrea (the vices riding towards Hell, *Toesca*, op. cit.); Piobese Torinese, S. Giovanni di Campi (frescoes by Giovanni Bertrano di Pinerolo, 1414); Cirie, Sta. Maria di Spinerano and in the tower of the parish church; Fontanetto Po, S. Sebastino (fresco by Domenico della Marca d'Ancona); Castelmagno, S. Magno; Crescentino, S. Pietro; Occhieppo, S. Clemente (*Roccavilla*, op. cit., fig. 164); Monterosso, S. Sebastiano; Villar S. Costanzo, S. Antonio; Picetto Torinese, S. Sebastiano; Avigliana, S. Pietro. Some panels with figures in half-length or in bust, coats of arms and other decorative paintings, which adorn a ceiling in the Cavassa Palace, now the Museo Civico of Saluzzo, are late productions of the same art. There is a series of paintings, executed much after the same style in the Schloss Museum, Berlin.



Fig. 127. The Arrival of the Magi, Piedmontese School, first half of the 15th century. Stoclet Collection, Brussels.



Fig. 128. Madonna, saints and Bishop Giovanni Rusconi, Emilian School, prior to 1412. Cathedral, Parma.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

moral allegorical representations, there are still several other profane decorations of castles of which debris or fragments have come down to us ⁽¹⁾. Not all, however, date from the first half of

⁽¹⁾ v. *Schlosser*, *Jahrb. der Kunsth. Samml. des Allerh. Kaiserh.*, 1895, p. 177, mentions some examples in the castle of Verzuolo, near Saluzzo, and in the ruined castle of Lagnasco, near Cuneo (couples dancing).

the 15th century; we have already found on one of them an inscription of the year 1474. Nevertheless, we find here a very homogeneous group and a perfect unity of style, which demonstrates that the art of Piedmont at this period was more closely linked with France than with Lombardy.



Fig. 129. Emilian School, fresco, prior to 1435. Cathedral, Parma.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

In all these frescoes we discover an influence of French models which verges on imitation. But the provincial painters, who were charged with the execution of these decorations, succeeded only in a very mediocre manner in reproducing the elegance of French miniatures. However, it is interesting to note that a rather popular and rustic art, inspired by French examples, was created in Piedmont, while in France itself there is no trace of a similar school of painting.

The Lombardy of yore was not limited to the present frontiers;

it included a certain part of Emilia and it is on account of this that the Lombard style penetrated into some of the Emilian towns, where, however, we do not discover any very important



Fig. 130. Emilian School, fresco, prior to 1435. Cathedral, Parma.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

works belonging to the Gothic group of the 15th century.

Descending from Lombardy into Emilia, we find a series of frescoes in Parma, which confirms that, at least artistically speaking, the latter region belongs to the province of Lombardy (figs. 129—131).

The second niche to the right in the baptistery is adorned above with a fresco of the Crucifixion, the Virgin, St. John and

Mary Magdalene and the figures of the Annunciation in the corners, and below the Madonna of the Misericordia, sheltering the faithful under her mantle, between two saints and two angels. An inscription shows the date 1398, which Signor Testi ⁽¹⁾, I think wrongly, applies only to the lower part of the decoration.



Fig. 131. Emilian School, fresco, prior to 1435. Cathedral, Parma.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

The fresco is executed in a very rustic manner but, apart from that, is not very different from the works produced in Lombardy.

In the cathedral there are four much more important series of mural decorations, the greater part of which have been attributed to Jacopo Loschi and even after Signor Testi demonstrated beyond any doubt that the oldest paintings of these series date from

(¹) *L. Testi, Le Baptistère de Parme, Florence, 1916, p. 247.*

before 1412 and the most recent were executed before 1435 ⁽¹⁾, writers have continued to accept this attribution, even although it is known that Loschi was born in 1425 and that he died after 1504. It is much more probable that a part of these frescoes was painted by his father-in-law, Bartolommeo or Bertolino de' Grossi ⁽²⁾.

The oldest paintings are those in a chapel below, near the crypt, which was founded by Bishop Giovanni Rusconi, who died in 1412 and who probably had the chapel decorated before his death ⁽³⁾. In a lunette the founder is depicted kneeling before the Virgin, to whom he is presented by St. John the Apostle; the Baptist forms the pendant on the other side of the Madonna's highly ornate architectural throne. Two angelic musicians fly over head, while below we see rabbits playing in a meadow (fig. 128). A decorative frieze, which encircles the fresco, is adorned with medallions containing heads.

To the left of the crypt there is the chapel which Canon Antonio Ravacaldi had built. Mention of this ecclesiastic is made in 1402, 1406 and 1410. He certainly died long before 1448, and in a document of 1436, the altar of the chapel is already cited as one of those at which mass is said. The principal fresco here is the Annunciation, which is represented under an open piece of architecture; the angel bends his knee before the Virgin who, also kneeling, reads her breviary, the inquisitive servant is seen looking on at one of the windows. To the right is depicted an ecclesiastic on his knees, doubtless Antonio Ravacaldi himself, while the group of four figures to the left must be his relatives. Higher up on this same side God the Father is represented sending forth the Holy Ghost. An ornamental border surrounds the lunette. On the left wall we find the Marriage of the Virgin; in the centre the priest unites the hands of the couple, while to either side under a similar piece of architecture a large group of people has assembled. On the same wall there are the rather damaged

⁽¹⁾ *L. Testi*, Pier Ilario e Michele Mazzola, *Bolletino d'Arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.*, 1910, p. 56. *Suida*, op. cit., p. 470.

⁽²⁾ I think the first to ascribe them to this painter in collaboration, however, with Loschi, was *C. Malaspina*, *Nuova Guida di Parma*, Parma, 1869, p. 31. v. *A. Venturi*, *La pittura parmigiana nel secolo XV*, *L'Arte*, 1900, p. 375. *The Same*, *L'Arte*, 1909, p. 211.

⁽³⁾ The arguments, however, which Signor Testi brings forward in favour of this hypothesis, do not seem to be very convincing.



Fig. 132. Bartolommeo de' Grossi, fresco, prior to 1436. Cathedral, Parma.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

paintings of the Nativity of the Virgin and her Presentation in the Temple, while on the entrance wall we see Joachim with the shepherds.

The paintings in these two chapels near the crypt are not from the hand of the same artist, as Prof. A. Venturi has already remarked. Those in the Rusconi chapel bear some resemblance to the work of certain Venetian artists. I think they should be compared with the art of Niccolo di Pietro in particular, while the throne of imposing form recalls similar monuments in the fresco of the Coronation of the Virgin by Altichiero in the chapel of St. George in Padua. The forms in this painting, however, correspond with those of Gothic art of the 15th century.

The frescoes in the Ravacaldi chapel have more in common with Lombard art. The costumes of the period and the grimacing features recall, in particular, the miniatures of the different copies of the "Tacuinum Sanitatis".

We discover the hand of the same painter in the Valeri and "della Comune" chapels and as Jacopo Loschi's art obviously derives from this master's style, it is not difficult to imagine that the painter in question is Bartolommeo or Bertolino de' Grossi, who at a later date became the father-in-law of Loschi; it is not the only case of a pupil ending by becoming the son-in-law of his master.

We know that Bartolommeo de' Grossi was the son of a painter Jacopo and the grandson of another, called Giovanni, who is mentioned in 1425 as "anziano" of the corporation of painters. His wife, Caterina di Antonio de Valaria (or Valari), is mentioned in 1449, together with his partner Egidiolo Grandi dei Belenzoni. In 1448 he was charged with the painting of coats of arms of the republic of Milan and figures celebrating the freedom of the town. Record is again made of him in 1457 and 1459. In 1462 he decorated, together with Loschi, a chapel in the cathedral, two years after which work his death is registered⁽¹⁾. Frescoes have been detached from the fourth chapel to the right, that known as "della Comune", and placed in the first on the same side. In removing the frescoes, other paintings were discovered underneath, and on this fact alone it has been argued that the upper layer is of a much more recent date. I do not think that this is exact.

(¹) *Scarabelli Zunti*, *Memorie e documenti di Belle Arti parmigiani*, new ed., Parma, 1911, p. 30. *Testi*, loc. cit. and p. 81².

The detached frescoes were naturally executed after those which are now seen on the wall, but they seem to be both from the same hand, and to explain this superposition of frescoes by the same artist, the hypothesis has been propounded, that the first decoration did not please those who had ordered it.



Fig. 133. Bartolommeo de' Grassi, fresco, prior to 1436. Cathedral, Parma.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

Two documents, cited by Signor Testi, one of the year 1435, the other of 1436, prove that the chapel already existed at that time; besides the style of the paintings confirm this. The frescoes are of considerable number, particularly on the right wall, and illustrate the legends of SS. Fabian and Sebastian.

As to the Valeri-Baganzola chapel, it, too, was used already in 1436, and according to the documents cited by Signor Testi, it was in all probability finished between March 1435 and July 1436. The frescoes here represent scenes from the legends of SS. Peter,

Andrew the Apostle, Christopher, Sebastian, George and Catherine of Alexandria (figs. 129-135). Perhaps we should still attribute to the same artist a Madonna and angelic musicians, painted on the wall of a little stairway in the choir of the cathedral.

These paintings are so characteristic, not only on account of



Fig. 134. Bartolommeo de' Grossi, fresco, prior to 1436. Cathedral, Parma.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr

the proportions and life-like attitudes of the figures, but also because of the almost caricaturistic faces, round in shape, with exaggerated features and piercing eyes, that it is not difficult to recognize this master's hand. Jacopo Loschi's art shows the same peculiarities but to a lesser degree.

Doubtless by Bartolommeo de' Grossi, that is to say by the author of the frescoes with which we have just dealt, is a panel, representing the Madonna sitting on the ground, her head

swathed in a veil that simulates a turban and the Child Jesus, Who blesses, standing on her knee; this picture belongs to Prince Fabrizio Massimo, Rome (fig. 136).

A Madonna between two saints in the Dard collection, which



Fig. 135. Bartolommeo de' Grossi, fresco, prior to 1436. Cathedral, Parma.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

was given not long ago to the Museum of Dijon, bears a fairly strong resemblance to these frescoes ⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Professor *Venturi*, op. cit., p. 226, is of opinion that the following works are executed in the manner of de' Grossi and Loschi: a votive fresco in S. Girolamo, an oratory founded by the Valeri, in Parma, frescoes from the history of the Virgin, in the Carmine church, a Virgin nursing the Child, on a pillar of the cathedral of Busseto and many pieces of faience in the Archeological Museum of Parma.



Fig. 136. Bartolommeo de' Grossi, Madonna and Child. Collection of Prince Fabrizio Massimo, Rome.



Fig. 137. The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine, Emilian School, prior to 1437.
Sagra, Carpi.

A curious example of the persistence of Gothic art — sooner the style of the 14th century than the cosmopolitan style — in the second half of the 15th century, is offered us in the works of Bar-

tolommeo and Jacopino Maineri di Regio, who, together signed a polyptych, now in the Brera, Milan (no. 416), but originating from the region of Parma⁽¹⁾. Even the plan of the polyptych recalls the Venetian altar-pieces of the 14th century with innumerable little figures of saints. The principal representations are the Crucifixion, the Annunciation and the angel appearing to Joachim. The two artists, who are recorded in documents dating from 1461 to 1471, signed the picture: "*Hanc tabulam fecerunt Bartolomeus et Jacopinus de Regio*". On other occasions they seem to have signed themselves as "de Bologna". A polyptych with twenty figures of saints and a representation of the "Noli me tangere" in the centre, in the Museum of Reggio, is executed so much in the same manner, that we are justified in ascribing it to these reactionary artists. At a later date other painters of this family are found at Reggio.

In the church of Sta. Maria di Castello or Sagra, at Carpi, near Modena, we find, apart from the 14th century frescoes mentioned in Volume IV, a series of mural paintings closely approaching in manner those in Parma, attributed to Bartolommeo de' Grossi. The forms are more elongated and more Gothic, but the faces are even more caricatured. I think we find here such a strong resemblance to Lombard productions, that we need not hesitate where to look for the origin of the style⁽²⁾. The decoration illustrates the story of St. Catherine of Alexandria (fig. 137). On the end wall we see the mystic wedding of the saint: the Saviour is not depicted as a child on His Mother's knee but as an adult; higher up are found the saint before her judge and her martyrdom on the wheel. The lateral walls are adorned with frescoes of the disputation, the conversion of the empress, the beheading

(¹) *G. B. Venturi*, Notizie di artisti reggiani etc., Atti e Mem. della Dep. di Stor. Patr. per le prov. Mod. e Parm., III, 2, I, 1883. *A. Venturi*, Arch. Stor. dell'Arte, I, 1888, p. 89; II, 1889, p. 36. *F. Malaguzzi Valeri*, Idem, IV, 1891, p. 372. *The Same*, Notizie di artisti reggiani, Reggio Emilia, 1892. *The Same*, La Pittura Reggiana nel Quattrocento, Rassegna d'Arte, 1903, p. 145. Here a Crucifixion in the Parodi chapel, near Correggio, is ascribed to the same artists. I do not know the original, but judging from the reproduction, this attribution is inadmissible as also the date 149..., once inscribed near the fresco, which appears to be at least a century older.

(²) *A. Venturi*, op. cit., VII¹, p. 221, believes that it is Venetian.



Fig. 138. The Master of the Sagra of Carpi, the Betrayal of Judas. Private Collection.

of the saint and her entombment. The Annunciation is depicted on the arch. Among the dates scratched on the walls, there is one of 1437; consequently the decoration must have been executed prior to this year. The curious faces recall the frescoes in the Bolognini chapel of S. Petronio, in Bologna, to which reference was made in Volume IV, but here the grotesqueness is even more exaggerated.

Ten or twelve years ago I saw in a collection in Paris a little

panel by the same master, representing the Betrayal of Judas, but I am unaware of its actual whereabouts (fig. 138).

In Modena itself, this artistic movement is represented by a panel illustrating the story of S. Giovanni Boccadoro, according to poetry of the period. This panel, which doubtless once formed part of a wedding chest, is found in the Estense Gallery in Modena. The elegant costumes, the horses, the dogs and the other accessories of chivalrous life point to an inspiration of Pisanello in particular, and the Lombard elements are here less evident⁽¹⁾.

This panel might be compared with a drawing in the Print Room of Dresden, part of a representation of the meeting of the quick and the dead⁽²⁾, but here, on the other hand, there are more reminiscences of Lombard art.

Modena was the birthplace of two painters of the name of Giovanni. The first is found from 1391 till 1400 in Milan, where Jacques Coenen and Jean Mignot met him, and I believe that Count Durrieu in Paris possesses a picture from his hand⁽³⁾. The second is found active in Bologna.

Before beginning to study the paintings produced in the latter town, we must glance one moment at a work, signed by Giovanni De Riolo and dated 1433⁽⁴⁾, because it is a picture in which we discover the characteristics of Lombard Gothic art. It is a Madonna, the centre of a polyptych, and hangs in the sacristy of the church of S. Domenico in Imola, where the side panels also are presevered; the latter show four figures of saints, and the Saviour and the Twelve Apostles in medallions.

As there is a small town called Riolo, near Imolà, the artist in all probability originated from there. Some confusion has arisen in connexion with this artist, because certain writers have tried to identify him with Giovanni da Oriolo di Faenza (1443—1473)

(1) *G. Bariola*, La Gallerie Nazionali Italiane, V, 1902, p. 368², believes it to be of Parmesan origin. *F. Patetta*, Di una tavola dello R. Gal. Estense etc., Mem. della R. Acc. di Sc. Let. ed Arti in Modena, serie III, vol. VII, 1907. *P. Schubring*, Cassoni, Leipzig, 1915, p. 351 and pl. 127.

(2) *A. Venturi*, op. cit., fig. 124.

(3) *H. Bouchot*, Les primitifs français, 1904, p. 213.

(4) *C. Ricci*, Emporium, XX, 1904, p. 184. *L. Orsini*, Imola e la Valle del Santero, Bergamo, 1907, p. 98. *G. Ballardini*, Giovanni da Oriolo, Florence, 1911, pp. 19 and 76.



Fig. 139. The Adoration of the Magi, Emilian School, circa 1400. Gallery, Venice.

Photo Fiorentina.

by whom there is a signed picture — the portrait of Leonello d'Este — in the National Gallery, London. Giovanni da Riolo has nothing to do with this artist. The panels at Imola reveal him as a fairly conservative painter, producing Gothic forms drawn in a fairly refined calligraphic manner; the figures do not lack feeling. The central panel bears the inscription: "1433 *Johannes de Riolo pinxit*".

As I have already said when dealing with the paintings of about 1410 in the Bolognini chapel in S. Petronio, Bologna and those of 1417 by Luca da Perugia in the Pepoli chapel⁽¹⁾, these works, although based on Bolognese art of the 14th century, really already belong in a certain measure to the Gothic movement, which became apparent at the beginning of the 15th century.

With these early manifestations of Gothic art, I think we should also include a panel of rather archaic appearance in the Gallery of Venice (No. 12), representing the Arrival of the Magi at the birthplace of Jesus (fig. 139). The costumes with very high collars sooner point to a period towards 1400 than the middle of the 14th century, to which date this little picture is generally attributed⁽²⁾; besides, certain other details confirm the hypothesis that we are dealing here with the work of a reactionary artist.

In the church of S. Petronio, Bologna, there are some other frescoes of but very few years later which show this international Gothic art in a more evolved form. They are those which Francesco Lola executed in 1419 in the same chapel where Luca da Perugia worked only two years earlier⁽³⁾. The signature is seen under a fresco of the Madonna on a throne and a long series of saints that Aldrovando del Rasino had executed. The same artist, no doubt, also painted the figures of SS. Catherine and Petronius with an adorer on this wall, as well as those on the opposite wall of St. Agatha with "Sophia de Inchilterra", who ordered this decoration, kneeling at her feet, and SS. Christopher and Antony Abbot, who are depicted nearby. I think that the figures

(1) Vol. IV, p. 476.

(2) The catalogues of 1914 and 1924, as well as *L. Testi*, *Storia della pittura veneziana*, I, Bergamo, 1909, p. 182.

(3) *F. Cavazza*, *Finestroni e cappelle in San Petronio di Bologna*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1905, p. 161.

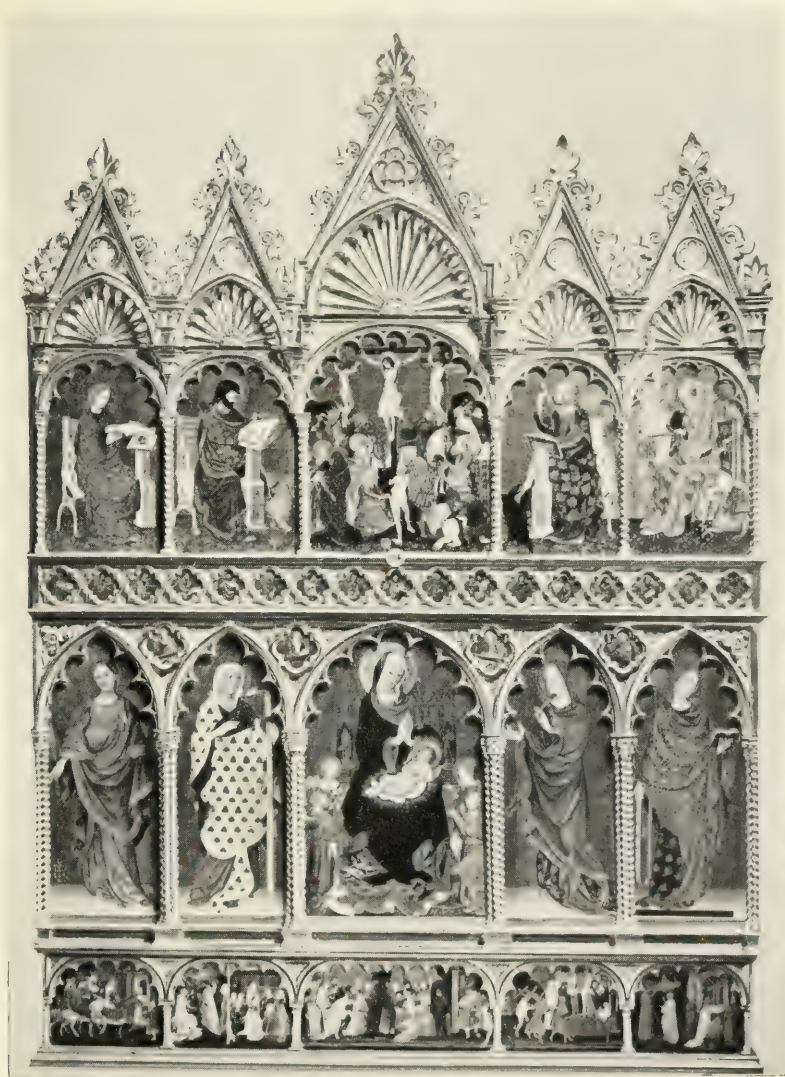


Fig. 140. Michele di Matteo, polyptych. Gallery, Venice.

Photo Anderson.

of the Virgin and St. Antony of Padua, under which fresco the date 143 . . . is still visible, are by another artist.

The name of Francesco Lola is recorded in a document of 1425 when, together with Michele di Matteo, Ruggero and Stefano,

he painted a frieze in the palace of the "Anziani" and the coats of arms of Pope Martin IV and the papal ambassador in a gate of the town⁽¹⁾.

The second Giovanni da Modena, whose real name was Giovanni di Pietro Faloppi, executed in 1420 the frescoes in the first chapel to the left in S. Petronio, Bologna, and often the mural decoration of the Bolognini chapel has also been attributed to him, but this, I think, is erroneous, as I have already had occasion to demonstrate⁽²⁾. Of the frescoes that he executed here, only some very repainted parts remain; they show, however, two Crucifixions, one with the Old and the New Law, the other with Adam and Eve, some representations from the Old Testament and a figure of the Madonna with saints. There apparently once existed a fresco dated 1428 of the birth of the Baptist, by Giovanni da Modena, in the church of S. Francesco⁽³⁾. The same year he executed, together with Michele di Matteo and Pietro de Lianori the altar-piece of S. Ruffillo and the standard of Justice, which works were paid 989 lire⁽⁴⁾. Further there is mention of a picture of 1451 with St. Bernardine as one of the figures, which was executed for the same church⁽⁵⁾. We know that he was active as early as 1410⁽⁶⁾.

Several of the pillars in the church of S. Petronio are adorned with figures of saints — one is supposed to be that of Joan of Arc⁽⁷⁾ — which date from the same period. They are sometimes even more characteristic of the Gothic movement than the frescoes in the two chapels, because the one series is of a very poor

(1) *F. Filippini*, *Cronache d'Arte*. 1924, p. 183.

(2) Vol. IV, loc. cit.

(3) *Lamo*, *La graticola di Bologna fatto l'anno 1560*, Bologna, 1844, p. 25.

(4) *F. Filippini*, loc. cit.

(5) *Toesca*, op. cit., p. 458², who believes that the frescoes in this chapel and in that of the Bolognini are from the same hand, attributes to this artist still some paintings in the church of S. Sepolcro.

(6) *A. Venturi*, op. cit., VII¹, p. 206². *C. Ricci*, *Guida di Bologna*, 5th ed., Bologna, no date, p. 88, thinks the Giovanni da Modena, to whom he ascribes the frescoes in the Bolognini chapel, executed the Calvary and the Crucifixion in the Crocifisso church which *Filippini*, op. cit., wrongly attributes to Jacopo di Paolo.

(7) *C. Ricci*, *Giovanna d'Arco a Bologna*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1920, p. 134.



Fig. 141. Detail of fig. 140.

Photo Anderson.



Fig. 142. Detail of fig. 140.

Photo Anderson.

quality and] the other so repainted that it is difficult to form an exact idea of their value.

To this group of painters belongs also Michele di Matteo⁽¹⁾, who should not be confounded with Michele di Matteo da Panzano⁽²⁾. We found him collaborating with Francesco Lolain 1425 and with Giovanni da Modena in 1428, but already in 1416 he is recorded in the corporation of the four arts as „*Magister Michael Mathei pictor*

⁽¹⁾ *A. Venturi*, Arch. Stor. dell' arte, 1890, p. 282. *Gerevich*, Rassegna d'Arte, 1907, p. 178. *Testi*, Stor. del. pit. venez., I, p. 422; II, p. 733. *F. Filippini*, Michele di Matteo da Bologna, Cronache d'Arte, 1924, p. 183. unites all the documentary evidence.

⁽²⁾ *A. Venturi*, Stor. dell' arte ital., VII¹, p. 210.

capelle Sancte Caterinae de Saragotia". In 1437 and 1440 he occupied the honorific position of "massaro" in this corporation and had at that time the surname "*de Calcina*". In 1418 he painted a banner with the coat of arms of the town and at this earlier period was called "*dalla Fornace*". In 1444 he signed and dated some frescoes in the church of S. Matteo delle Pescherie⁽¹⁾ which have disappeared and in 1447 executed the extant paintings in the tribune of the Baptistery of Siena⁽²⁾. Further there is mention of a Coronat-

(1) *Bumaldo*, *Minevalia Bonomensa*, Bologna, 1641, p. 241.

(2) *G. Milanesi*, *Documenti per la Storia dell' arte senese*, II, p. 319.



Fig. 143. Detail of fig. 140.

Photo Anderson.

ion of the Virgin with scenes from the life of St. Crispin in the predella which he made for the corporation of shoe-makers; it was signed: "*Michael Mattei pinsit,*" and dated either 1420⁽¹⁾ or 1426⁽²⁾; and a Madonna, signed and dated 1448 in the church of S. Isaia⁽³⁾.

Michele married Lucia, the daughter of a painter called Jacopo



Fig. 144. Detail of fig. 140.

Photo Anderson.

di Paolo of whom there is still mention in 1458. Malvasia informs us that Michele was a member of the Lambertini family but this fact seems to be without foundation.

An important work signed by this master, however, still exists. It is the polyptych in the Gallery of Venice (No. 24), originally in

(1) *Oretti* in the MS. 123 of the Library of Bologna, p. 111.

(2) *Bolognini-Amorini*, *Le Vite dei pittori bolognesi*, I, Bologna, 1841, p. 21.

(3) *Malvasia*, *Felcine Pittrice*, Zanotti ed., I, Bologna, 1841, p. 38. Malvasia mentions also a Madonna of 1469 in S. Martino Maggiore, now in the Gallery of Bologna (No. 104), but it is a work of the other painter of this name.



Fig. 145. Michele di Matteo, the Coronation of the Virgin. Massari Collection, Ferrara.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

the church of S. Elena in Insula (figs. 140—144). The central panel represents the Virgin enthroned, adoring the Child on her knee; four angels are grouped around the throne. The lateral panels show the full-length figures of SS. Lucy and Helen to the left and

SS. Mary Magdalene and Catherine to the right. Above in the centre we see the Crucifixion, depicted in an agitated composition, recalling those of Simone dei Crocifissi, while to the sides are the four Evangelists. The predella, which is composed of five panels, is adorned with scenes from the history of the finding of the Cross. The artist has inscribed his name at the Madonna's feet; the signature runs: "*Michael Mathei de Bononia f.*"

In all probability we can identify with the Coronation of the Virgin, executed for the corporation of shoe-makers, a panel in the collection of the Duke Massari of Ferrara, originally in the Santini collection, which is signed: "*Mathei f.*" (fig. 145). The actual signature does not seem to be original but perhaps it is painted over the old one which no doubt was longer. There can be little uncertainty as to its being a work by Michele. The Virgin and Saviour, who are seated on the same throne, are rather sad of expression; Christ is in the act of placing the crown on His Mother's head.

The frescoes in the Baptistery of Siena represent the Crucifixion between the Prayer in the Garden of Olives and the Entombment (fig. 146). These are the only frescoes by Michele that have come down to us and it is obvious that the artist was incapable of creating a grandiose composition.

Signor Filippini ascribes to Michele three panels representing the story of the Magi, in the Gallery of Bologna (Nos. 729, 730 and 731). Another picture in the same collection (No. 281), which is catalogued as the death of Jacopo del Cassero, but which really depicts a miracle of St. Francis, is attributed in the catalogue to Michele di Matteo Lambertino, as are also several other paintings, one of which is signed, but all these are the works of the artist of the same name from Modena.

The first of these panels (No. 281) goes together with two pictures in the Ateneo of Pesaro, originating from Bologna, and representing the stigmatization of St. Francis and a miracle of St. Antony of Padua. I do not think that any of these pictures are by Michele di Matteo, nor do I think that Signor Filippini is right in ascribing, as he does, the numerous cassone panels to this master. The somewhat calligraphic style of this artist and his morphological types with their long faces, pointed noses, small mouths and tapering fingers are easily recognized and I think that we should attribute to him a picture in the Chiaramonte

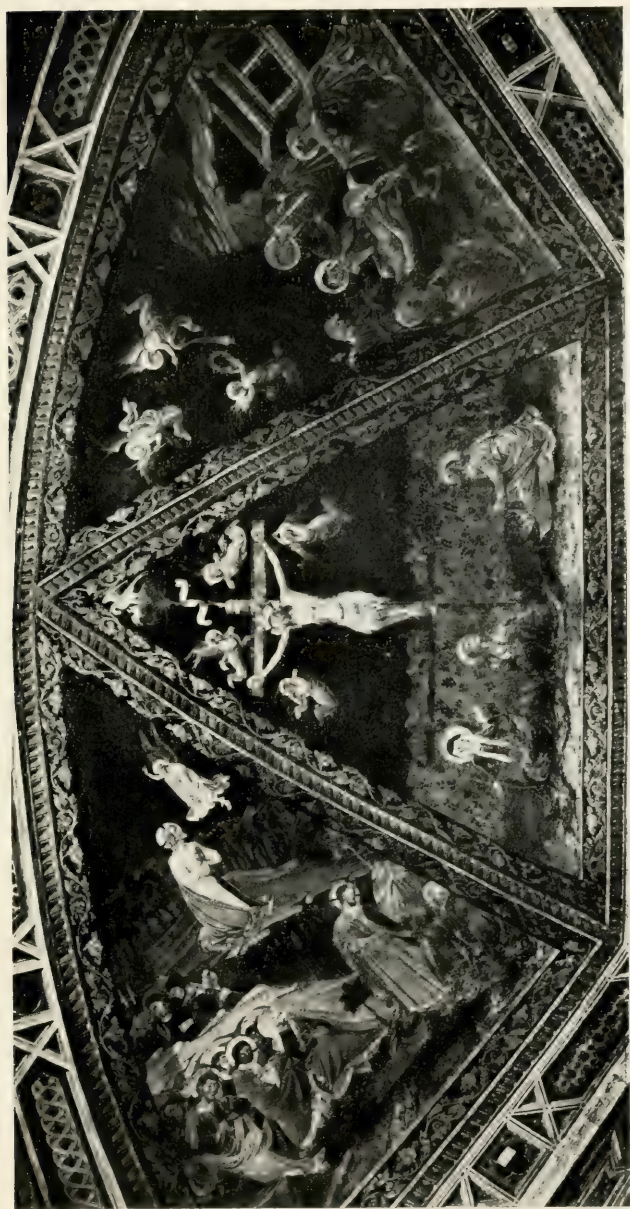


Fig. 146. Michele di Matteo, the Crucifixion and other scenes, Baptistry, Siena.

Photo. Alinari.

Bordonaro collection in Palermo which until now has passed as a work of Ottaviano Nelli's (fig. 147)(¹). It represents the Virgin in a richly embroidered dress, sitting on a cushion in a flowery field; on her knee she holds the Child Jesus Who is covered only by a transparent veil and wears a coral charm round His neck; four angelic musicians fly over head(²).

All the works by this artist show an obvious influence of Gentile da Fabriano. He is not a great draughtsman but frequently a delightful colourist.

The other Michele di Matteo was a native of Modena but he worked chiefly in Bologna where he seems to have matriculated in 1440.

In the abbatial church of Nonantola there is a polyptych by this master which was ordered in 1460 by Gurone d'Este, the prior of Pomposa (³). It reveals the painter as the poorest and least skilful of this group of artists, the figures are really appalling. Not any better are the pictures by him in the Gallery of Bologna; one (103), a polyptych, represents the Pietà and four saints with scenes from the story of Lazarus in the predella, and is signed: "*Michael Matei fecit 1462*" (fig. 148); another is a triptych (Nos. 104, 105 and 106) and shows the half-length figure of the Virgin with the Child between those of SS. Dominic and Francis. Again it is signed and dated 1469. Other works by the same artist are a crucifix (no number) with God the Father above, the Virgin and St. John at the lateral extremities and Mary Magdalene at the feet of the Crucified, four fragments — the terminals of a crucifix (Nos. 377, 381, 382 and 398)(⁴) and a Madonna, adoring the Child in her lap, a devotee kneeling at the foot of the throne, in the Davia Borgellini Museum, Bologna.

This artist, whose only quality is his bright colouring, is one of the last representatives of the Gothic movement which flou-

(¹) *E. Calzini*, Per un pittore umbro, Rassegna bibliografica dell' Arte, 1898, p. 225.

(²) *R. van Marle*, Una tavola di Michele di Matteo da Bologna, Cronache d'Arte, II, 1925, p. 244.

(³) *F. C(aloni) C(esis) e A. C(avazzoni) P(ederzini)*, Di un quadro finora ignoto di antico maestro della scuola bolognese, Modena, 1867. *A. Venturi*, op. cit., p. 210³.

(⁴) Senator Ricci attributes to him also Nos. 248 and 249, two half-length figures of holy bishops v. *C. Ricci*, Guida di Bologna, p. 121.



Fig. 147. Michele di Matteo, Madonna and angels. Chiaramonte Bordonaro Collection, Palermo.

Photo Alinari.

rished at the beginning of the 15th century and in Michele di Matteo's art reached a fairly advanced stage of decadence. Another adherent of about similar merit, but of Bolognese origin, was Bartolomeo da Bologna, by whom there is a dreadful little

picture, signed, in the gallery (no number), showing the Virgin seated in a landscape with the naked Child, Who performs the act of benediction, standing on her knee. The painting, which must have been executed by an unimportant country artist, dates, no doubt, from the second half of the 15th century and the Gothic elements are almost entirely absent.

More Gothic in the draughtsmanship but not in any way superior in quality, is the polyptych by Giovanni di Zanello or di Canelo in the Museum of S. Stefano in Bologna, a work of about the year 1400, depicting in the centre the Coronation of the Virgin with angels above, and at the sides SS. John the Evangelist and Mark to the left, SS. James and Antony Abbot to the right ⁽¹⁾.

Resembling the unattractive works of Giovanni di Zanello, are a polyptych and some frescoes in the Cathedral of Castel l'Arquato. The former shows the Madonna in the midst of six saints with six half-length figures of saints and a Crucifixion above and still other figures, some however missing, in the pinnacles and predella. Of the frescoes, which are certainly from the same hand, only the four Evangelists in the vault are preserved in their original condition. The scene of the Death of the Virgin is entirely repainted and that of the Virgin on the Saviour's knee in the midst of angels, has been freely retouched. The presence of the emblem of St. Bernardine in the centre of the vault excludes any date prior to about 1450.

I do not know on what grounds the authorities of the Gallery of Bologna attribute to St. Catherine Vigri of Bologna (1413—1463) a panel of St. Ursula, sheltering her companions under her mantle (No. 202) and a half-length figure of the Saviour carrying the Cross, painted in tempera on paper (No. 265), originating from the monastery of Sta. Margherita. The former of these two pictures is a fine work but of a slightly archaic appearance, con-

(1) I had to mention this ugly painting in Vol. IV, p. 477, note 1, because Signor *Filippini*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1912, p. 103, thought that it was the work of an artist of the beginning of the 14th century. With regard to the interpretation of the name, v. *Moschetti*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1903, p. 33. *Testi*, *Storia della pittura veneziana*, I, p. 296. *Baldani*, *La pittura a Bologna nel sec. XIV.*, Doc. e stud. della R. Dep. di Stor. Patr. per la Romagna, III, 1909, p. 470. *Ricci*, op. cit., p. 95.

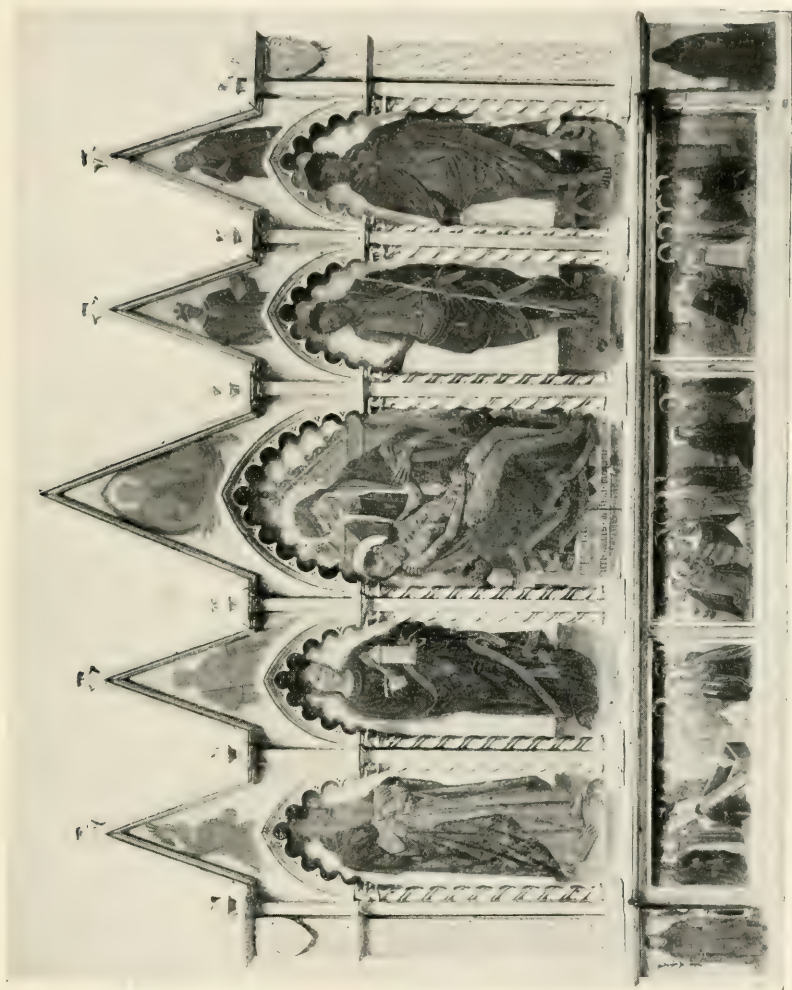


Fig. 148. Michele di Matteo the Second, Pietà and saints. Gallery, Bologna.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

sidering the date of birth of the holy artist. It might have confirmed the tradition that she learned her art from Lippo Dalmasio, had the latter not died before 1421.

We know still the name of Pietro di Giovanni de Tovaglis, who was inscribed in 1410 in the society of the four arts in Bologna. He perhaps executed the fresco of St. Lawrence, who

presents an ecclesiastical devotee, signed "*Petrus Johannes*", which once adorned the cloister of S. Domenico in Bologna ⁽¹⁾. Malvasia ⁽²⁾ describes the entire fresco which represented the Trinity.

The same writer speaks of a signed picture of 1415 in S. Frediano, Lucca, but the name "*Petrus Johannes*" is, I think, too common for us to identify the painter of Bologna with that of Lucca and still less with the artist who signed himself "*Petrus*". A crucifix he mentions in the monastery of the Celestine monks, perhaps the same as the one now in the Gallery of Bologna, which shows the artist's signature, might, as far as period is concerned, be the work of a certain Petrus whose name appears in a document of 1348 ⁽³⁾. Malvasia attributes to him numerous other works, including those of 1442 and 1446 by "*Petrus Johannis de Lianoris*". If he were really active, as some pretend, until 1453, it would not be entirely impossible that we are here dealing with one and the same artist, but I do not think it is very probable because Lianori belongs to the following generation.

Another name has come down to us on a signature of a triptych from S. Giovanni in Monte, now in the Gallery of Bologna (No. 109). It is that of Giovanni Martorelli (1390—1447), because the signature reads: "*Joanes Martorellus pinxit*" and is seen below the throne of the Virgin who forms the central figure; she is accompanied by two saints to either side. The upper part of the picture is considerably repainted but a Pietà on the predella and a figure of a saint on the socle of one of the pilasters are in a good state of preservation and show strangely grimacing faces.

Also Giovanni Martorelli was a painter without either talent or finesse. It must be admitted that a great number of the Bolognese artists of the beginning of the 15th century were very backward, compared with those in other parts of Italy. Most of the Bolognese productions of this period have a frankly rustic appearance as though executed by provincial little masters; the

⁽¹⁾ Ricci, op. cit., p. 61. v. Vol IV, p. 451 note 1.

⁽²⁾ Malvasia, op. cit., p. 37 Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Langton Douglas, III, p. 202, note 3.

⁽³⁾ v. Vol. IV, p. 398.



Fig. 149. Madonna and Child, School of Romagna, early 15th century. Gallery, Ravenna.

Photo Ist. Ital. Arti Grafiche.

same tendency will be observed in works of the school of Ferrara ⁽¹⁾.

A rather archaic appearance characterizes also the frescoes in the chapel of the Castle of Vignola, where in the vault we see the Evangelists and in the lunettes the Resurrection, the Descent into Hell and Pentecost.

The same peculiarity is noticeable in a group of Madonnas which seem to originate in the Romagna. The most striking example is the one in the Gallery of Ravenna. The Virgin is depicted enthroned, wearing a crown in relief work and bestowing a blessing; the Child is rather round and heavy; some plants are seen growing on the ground, while a church is represented in the background (fig. 149). The folds of the Virgin's dress describe fairly Gothic lines ⁽²⁾. In the Lanz collection, Amsterdam there is a Madonna of considerably superior quality and for that reason, in spite of the numerous points in common, I hesitate to attribute it to the same hand (fig. 150). The Madonna again wears a crown in relief and the types, as much that of the Madonna as of the Child, resemble those of the picture in Ravenna. The throne is placed in the midst of flowers; the Child's dress shows also a flowery design. The miniature figure of a nun kneels below; the Virgin stretches her hand towards her, while the Child Jesus bestows a blessing.

The contours of this beautiful picture are so sharply outlined that it resembles an engraving and this makes me think that it must be the same artist who painted another Madonna which shows the same peculiarity; the picture in question was formerly in the Wallraf Richartz Gallery (527), Cologne, but was sold not long ago (fig. 151) ⁽³⁾. Again the Virgin is depicted in a meadow

⁽¹⁾ As Bolognese works of this period, might still be mentioned a fresco of the Virgin with the holy bishop Blaise and the Baptist, repainted in oil colours, to the right of the door of the Crocifisso church, and in Sta. Maria degli Servi a fresco of the Virgin and Child with SS. Cosme and Damian in the fifth chapel to the left of the high altar and a fresco of an angel in the last chapel to the same side.

⁽²⁾ *C. Ricci*, *Raccolte artistiche di Ravenna*, Bergamo, 1905, p. 78. *Colasanti*, *Gentile da Fabriano*, p. 151.

⁽³⁾ It is classified in the museum catalogue as a Tuscan work. Mr. Loeser, whose opinion is given in the catalogue, calls it a production of the Venetian school. *L. Venturi*, *Le origini della pittura veneziana*, Venice, 1906, p. 37 and *A. Venturi*, *op. cit.*, VII, p. 294, think that the picture derives in particular



Fig. 150. Madonna, Child and adorer, School of Romagna, beginning of the 15th century. Lanz Collection, Amsterdam.

full of flowers, but this time she is seated on the ground, which ranks the pictures in the category that has been called the *Madonnas of Humility*. She offers an apple to the Child. Two little angels support her halo. The facial type of these angels is rather curious and one we do not see in the panel in the Lanz collection, Amsterdam, but the features and expression of the Virgin are on the other hand very similar.

Not unlike the two last pictures, although later, is a *Madonna* seated on a throne, shaped like an X, in a flowery field; on her head two angels place a crown. The Child, almost naked and wearing a coral charm round His neck, stands on the Virgin's knee. The picture belongs to the Spiridon collection, Rome (fig. 152).

A *Madonna of Humility* in the Gallery of Bologna (No. 589) can also be classified in this group but it is from quite a different hand and is of a less pleasing technique (fig. 153). The Virgin holds a rose in her left hand and with her right supports the Child Who grasps a little bird in His hand. A rather interesting piece of graffito work on gold decorates the cushions on which the Virgin is seated; seven figures of saints or prophets adorn the predella.

Although less characteristic, I think a crowned *Madonna* in the Gallery of Parma (No. 55) belongs to this category. Against the background of a richly embroidered material, the Virgin is depicted holding the Child asleep on her knee; two angels, one playing the violin, the other the harp, are seated below ⁽¹⁾. A *Madonna* in the Bastianelli collection, Rome, should also be included in this group.

It is obvious that the type of these *Madonnas* finds its origin in Venice. If we compare the figures of the Virgin in question with those by Jacobello del Fiore, in particular with

from the manner of Lorenzo Veneziano, especially comparing it with a *Madonna of Humility* in the Kestner Museum, Hanover. *L. Testi*, *La Pittura veneziana*, II, p. 124³, protests against this attribution and believes that the picture is of much later date but does not come to any definite conclusion. All those who have discussed this painting have made the mistake of giving the number in the catalogue as 526.

⁽¹⁾ *Testi*, op. cit., I, pp. 300³, 354 note and 361, believes that this picture is a production of the Veronese school of the end of the 14th century and compares it with the art of Stefano da Verona.



Fig. 151. Madonna and Child, Emilian School, first half of the 15th century.
Formerly in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne.

that which forms the centre of the polyptych in S. Agostino at Teramo, this becomes clear. Very probably Romagna did not possess such skilful artists as the neighbouring regions and borrowed painters not only from Lombardy but also from Venice.

It was no doubt for this reason that Pisanello was so frequently called to Ferrara, because what remains of local productions of the first half of the 15th century gives us but a poor opinion of their artistic skill, more especially if we eliminate Bono, who really belonged to a later generation of the Ferrarese school, and Antonio Alberti da Ferrara who was sooner a follower of Gentile da Fabriano.

Nevertheless we find in Ferrara a certain number of works of the first half of the 15th century which prove, that the cosmopolitan Gothic style had its representatives there apart from Antonio Alberti da Ferrari⁽¹⁾. The names of these artists, however, must remain a mystery although we know that a certain Angelo Mocagnini of Siena became in 1447 the official painter at the court of Leonello and held the title until 1456 during the rule of Borso; he received a fief for which he was laid under the annual tribute of offering a rose or a lily painted on vellum, no doubt a work of art, executed more or less in the same meticulous manner as Pisanello painted the birds in the Vallardi collection, at least if these water colours are really by this artist.

Further we know the names of Giovanni della Gabella, Giacomo da Bologna, perhaps the same as Giacomo Ursini (1418), and Andrea da Vicenza (1424), the first and last both active at the court of the Estense⁽²⁾.

In the Gallery of Ferrara a panel (No 36), representing the Trinity — God the Father enthroned, holding before him the Saviour on the Cross — shows in the two lower corners the monogram: G Ç. Old writers and even the present catalogue of the gallery have taken this monogram to be that of Galasso Galassi who, according to Vasari, painted in the church of Mezzarata scenes from the Passion, signed: "*Galassus de Ferraria fecit 1404*"⁽³⁾, and the portrait of Nicolo Aretino. The documents offer us information concerning a Galasso di Galasso who died

(1) *D. Zaccarini*, Antonio Alberti, il suo maestro ed alcuni pittori ferraresi loro contemporanei, *L'Arte*, 1914, p. 161.

(2) *A. Venturi*, I primordi del rinascimento artistico a Ferrara, *Rivista Storica Italiana*, I, 1884, p. 609.

(3) *Vasari-Milanesi*, II, p. 140, III, p. 89. *Lanzi*, English ed. Roscoe, III, London, 1847, p. 105. *Barotti*, Letterati ferraresi, III, p. 75. The rest of the literature is given in *Thieme-Becker*, *Künstler Lexikon*, XIII, p. 86.



Fig. 152. Madonna and angels, School of Romagna, middle of the 15th century. Spiridon Collection, Rome.



Fig. 153. Madonna, School of Romagna, beginning of the 15th century.
Gallery, Bologna.

Photo Perazzo.

in 1473 and Galasso di Matteo Piva who is mentioned in 1450 and 1456, the former too late for us to identify him with the artist who worked in 1404, the latter of too different a name. Lastly, as Signor Zaccarini observes ⁽¹⁾, there is no reason to imagine that



Fig. 154 Madonna, St. Maurelius(?) and donor, Ferrarese School, prior to 1431.

By courtesy of Messrs. Trotti & Cie., Paris.

the monogram is that of the artist; it might just as well be that of the donor and he is of opinion that the letters should be interpreted as G.Z. For the town of Ferrara, whose painters, as we saw in a previous volume, were far from being the best in Italy, this work is very praiseworthy, for it lacks neither a certain

⁽¹⁾ *Zaccarini*, op. cit., p. 170.

grandeur of style nor a finesse of technique. Signor Zaccarini rightly draws our attention to the resemblance which exists between this picture and a panel of the enthroned Virgin to whom a holy bishop — perhaps St. Maurelius — presents the donor, Pietro Landi (fig. 154). The fact that Pietro Boiardi whose name is given in the inscription at the foot of the painting is mentioned as bishop of Ferrara, dates the work from between 1400 and 1431. This picture, which is even superior to the previous one, comes originally from the Abbey of Pomposa, it then passed into the Costabili collection in Ferrara and later was acquired by the art dealer Trotti et Cie. of Paris. The Virgin bears a certain resemblance to the Madonnas of Romagna that I have just enumerated.

To the same artist as these two works Signor Zaccarini ascribes still a rather inferior painting of the Presentation in the Temple in the ex-convent of S. Guglielmo, while I think five panels, showing the four Evangelists and the holy bishop Maurelius, in the Gallery of Ferrara (Nos 25, 26, 27, 28, 29) are executed in the manner of this painter; they were formerly in the Costabili collection.

I do not think that there is a very marked likeness between this master's art and that of Antonio Alberti da Ferrara. However, there was another artist active in Ferrara whose style derives from that of the master of the Holy Trinity, at least he worked very much in the same manner. From his hand there is a fresco of 1433 in the Cappella Maggiore of S. Antonio in Polesine, Ferrara, showing the half-length figure of the Virgin enthroned, nursing the Child and three saints to either side. An inscription above gives the date and the name of the donor, who was Sister Agnes of Fontana ⁽¹⁾.

No doubt from the hand of the same artist — to whom Signor Zaccarini also attributes it — is a detached fresco in the Gallery of Ferrara (No. 19) from the palace of the Pendaglia family. The documents concerning the painters who worked for the Pendaglia give the names of Beninca, Domenico, Andrea Costa da Vicenza, of whom we have already found mention, and Giacomo

⁽¹⁾ *A. Venturi*, op. cit., p. 217, finds characteristics of the old Bolognese school in this fresco.



Fig. 155. Madonna and saints, detached fresco, Ferrarese School, first half of the 15th century, Gallery, Ferrara.

da Soncino detto Sagramoro and his companions. The last mentioned artist seems to have been the most important ⁽¹⁾ and per-

⁽¹⁾ *Zaccarini*, op. cit., p. 176 and note 6.

haps it is to him or to a painter working under his supervision, that we owe the fresco in question; it represents the enthroned Virgin with the Child, Who again wears a coral charm, standing on her knee between S. Sebastian, a holy pilgrim and St. Antony Abbot (fig. 155).

The same artist should be held responsible for a rather damaged fresco of the Crucifixion with the Virgin and St. John (No. 17) and a dead Christ erect in His tomb of which the fresco and the preparation have been separately detached; both works come from the Pendaglia palace and are now in the town gallery. Signor Zaccarini attributes to him still two saints and a dead Christ in the Massari collection and a Crucifixion in the entrance to the Permanent Exhibition of Fine Arts. Certainly also from his hand is a half-length figure of the Virgin with the Child in Sta. Maria Nuova, but a Conoration of the Virgin — the two figures on one throne surrounded by four angels, one of which is missing — which was discovered not long ago in the ex-church of S. Romano and which is also attributed to him, seems to me to be the work of an artist whose technique was finer and whose forms were considerably more calligraphic.

A large detached fresco in the gallery (No. 7) dates also from the beginning of the 15th century; it shows the triumph of St. Augustine in a composition borrowed in part from the fresco in the Spagnoli chapel in Sta. Maria Novella, Florence. Above, the saint is represented seated at a desk, eight figures of Fathers of the Church and cardinals looking up at him; on the next row we see the personifications of the seven virtues vanquishing the seven vices, who are thrown on the ground; still lower are the personifications of the sciences and liberal arts, each with its most famous representative. The composition is grandiose but the style of execution, which shows a certain Siennese influence, is rather poor, as, in fact the majority of Ferrarese productions of this period ⁽¹⁾. An exception, however, is a fresco of the Resurrection in the choir of the church of S. Apollinare, near which Prof. A. Venturi read the date 144 . . ., which has since entirely

⁽¹⁾ As such Signor *Zaccarini*, op. cit., mentions still a St. Sebastian from S. Giovannino dei Gerosolimitani which was for sale, and a Madonna with the Child, the property of Signora Casoni.

disappeared ⁽¹⁾. Against a hilly landscape the impressive and majestic figure of the Saviour is depicted rising from His tomb, around which the soldiers lie sleeping; to the left, behind the coffin, an adorer is seen kneeling; the hands are all that remain visible of a second figure. This beautiful painting bears no resemblance to the works of the other Ferrarese artists, Antonio da Ferrara included, and the question arises whether or not we are dealing with the work of a Tuscan artist who emigrated to Ferrara.

⁽¹⁾ *A. Venturi*, op. cit., p. 220.

CHAPTER III.

TYROL AND VERONA.

It is only natural that the valley which begins in Southern Bavaria and leads through Tyrol to Verona, the valley in which Innsbruck, Brixen, Bolzano and Trent are situated, forms the link between South Germany and Northern Italy; apart from other circumstances this connexion is very evident in the artistic interchange. It will be noticed, however, that in this case Italy received more than she gave; the art of Stefano da Verona, for example, was much more influenced by the German manner than that of the majority of Tyrolese painters by the style of their southern colleagues.

In the introduction to this volume we found that a fairly homogeneous form of art flourished along the banks of the Rhine, penetrated into Bavaria and became established in Munich. It was no doubt in Bavaria that this movement came in contact with the current from Bohemia, where the style of painting of the second half of the 14th century was so strongly influenced by the French and it was the manner which resulted from the union of these two tendencies that penetrated into Tyrol (¹).

There was an intense artistic activity in this country at the end of the 14th century and beginning of the 15th; many churches were constructed during this period and this gave rise to extensive mural decorations. A considerable quantity of these frescoes have been preserved but for the greater part they are repainted. Two distinct groups can be recognized, that of Brixen and that

(¹) *Schmölzer*, Der Wandgemälde in St. Johann im Dorfe, Kanpill u. Terlan, Innsbruck, 1888. *B. Riehl*, Die Kunst an der Brennerstrasse, Leipzig, 1898. *K. Atz*, Die Kunstgeschichte Tirols u. Voralbergs, Innsbruck, 2nd ed., 1909. *J. Weingartner*, Die Wandmalereien Deutsch-tirols am Ausgang des 14 u. zu Beginn des 15th Jahrh.; Jahrb. des Kunsthist. Inst. der K.K. Central Commission, VI, 1912, p. 1. *F. Bürger*, Die Deutsche Malerei, II, 1, p. 229 in Handbuch der Kunstwiss., under the direction of Burger and Brinckmann where the bibliography is complete.



Fig. 156. The Betrayal of Judas. Tyrolean School, circa 1420. St. Martin's church. Kampill, near Bozen.

of Bozen (¹) and although the latter was nearer Italian territory, its art is decidedly more German in appearance.

(¹) *H. Braune*, *Die Kirchliche Wandmalerei in Bozen um 1400*, *Zeitschr. des Ferdinandeums*, 1905, p. 33.



Fig. 157. The Crucifixion, Tyrolese School, circa 1420. St. Martin's church, Kampill, near Bozen.

Near Bozen we find in the valley of Tiers the church of St. Catherine with frescoes dating probably from 1384; they represent scenes from the life of the saint and the Crucifixion. The northern element is very evident in the spirit of the entire work although the composition and the types are sooner of Italian origin, but even these have undergone a German transformation. The forms are of quite Gothic proportions, the features are ugly and the work is not free from a certain rustic vulgarity.



Fig. 158. Tyrolean School, circa 1420. Vault of St. Martin's church, Kampill, near Bozen.



Fig. 159. The Flight into Egypt. Tyrolean School, circa 1430. St. Helena, Deutschenhofen.

The same peculiarities of style, but still more pronounced, giving the frescoes an even more markedly German character, are found in the mural paintings of about 1420, showing the Passion of Christ, the Fathers of the Church, and the Almighty and scenes from the Creation in the vault at Kampill in the region of Bozen (figs. 156—158), in the frescoes of about 1430 of the Evangelists in the vault of the church of St. Helena (fig. 159 and 160),



Fig. 160. The Nativity and St. Luke, Tyrolese School, circa 1430. St. Helena, Deutschenhofen.

in those dated 1414, representing the legend of St. Agnes at Kaltern and in those illustrating the legends of SS. Catherine and Nicholas of Bari, the Crucifixion and other scenes in the church of St. George at Schöenna (fig. 161).

On the other hand an Italian predominance is obvious in the



Fig. 161. Scene of a martyrdom, Tyrolese School, beginning of the 15th century. St. George, Schöenna.

frescoes which Hans Stozinger painted in 1407 in the parish church of Terlan (fig. 162), and which depict scenes from the life of the Virgin and the Youth of Christ. I think that the difference that is noticeable in the appearance of certain of these frescoes is due only to a varying degree of restoration and I am not of opinion that they were executed at different dates. The complexity and depth of the architecture recall the Paduan paintings of the 14th century, as does also a Coronation of the Virgin on panel in the convent of Stams which bears a striking resemblance to the painting of the same subject



Fig. 162. Hans Stozinger, the Massacre of the Innocents, 1407. Parish church, Terlan.

by Guido da Padova in the National Gallery, London. The repainted frescoes in the church of St. Cyprien at Sarnthiem (fig. 163 and 164), showing the Last Judgment, scenes from the Life of Christ and from the legend of the patron saint, are also reminiscent of Paduan works.

In the church of "St. Johann im Dorfe", near Bozen, there is a



Fig. 163. The Calvary and the Crucifixion, Tyrolese School, first half of the 15th century. St. Cyprian, Sarntheim.

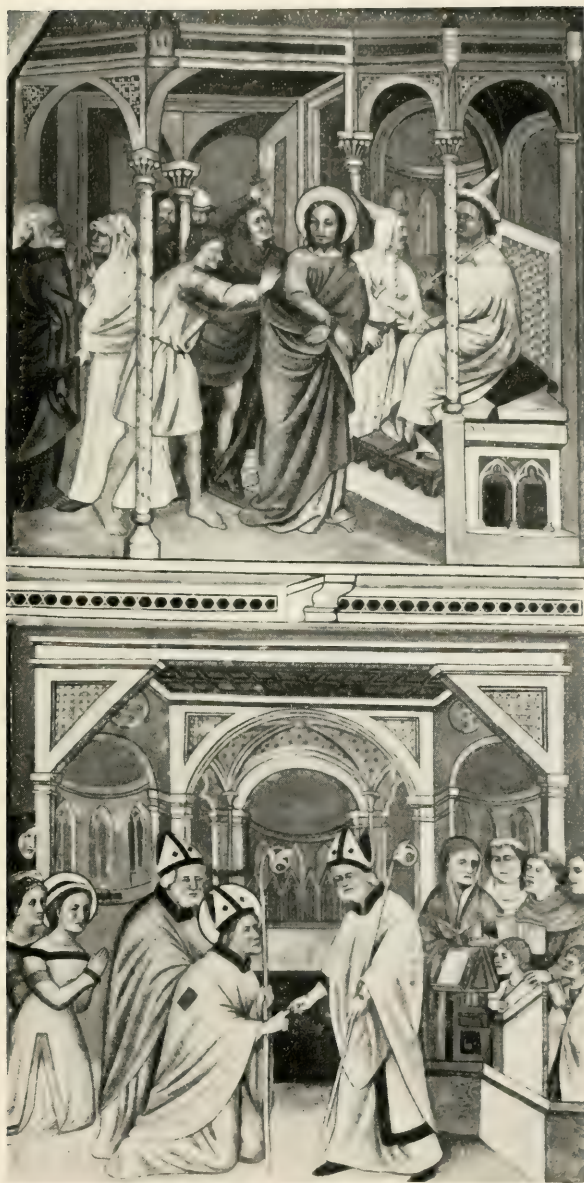


Fig. 164. Christ before Pilate and a scene from the life of St. Cyprian, Tyrolese School, first half of the 15th century.
St. Cyprian, Sarntheim.



Fig. 165. The Nativity of St. John the Baptist, Tyrolean School, beginning of 15th century. St. Johann im Dorfe, near Bozen.

series of mural paintings, illustrating the life of the Baptist which, on account of the fragmentary architecture, the appearance of the figures, the precise representation of action and the simplicity of the compositions, shows a connexion with Italian art of the Trecento, one might even say with the Giottesque tradition (figs. 165 and 166). Lastly, the castles of Lichtenberg and Runkelstein contain remains of profane decorations which, in style as



Fig. 166. A miracle of St. John, Tyrolese School, beginning of the 15th century.
St. Johann im Dorfe, near Bozen.

well as on account of the subjects, correspond more or less with the mural paintings that were found in Northern Italy, but technically they are very mediocre works (¹).

Apart from these two groups, formed by the mingling of German and Italian elements, the one in which the German

(¹) In the castle of Lichtenberg there are also some representations from the Old Testament. *J. v. Schlosser*, *Die Wandgemälde aus Schloss Lichtenberg in Tirol*, Vienna, 1916.

influence transformed the Italian current, the other in which an influence coming from the north of Italy resulted in the creation of works resembling in particular those of the Paduan school, these is still a third category, that which includes the Tyrolese form of cosmopolitan Gothic painting. Brixen seems to have been the chief centre of this style. In the cloister of the cathedral of Brixen there is a considerable number of paintings ⁽¹⁾ from different hands and also of different dates, which exemplify the international Gothic manner. I shall mention only the more important of these frescoes.

The date 1417 is inscribed under an Adoration of the Magi, below which we see a figure of the dead Saviour supported by the Virgin and St. John in the midst of four saints (fig. 167). Adjacent to a representation of the Child Christ teaching in the Temple, there is a medallion containing the portrait of Canon Konrad Schaller von Rattenbuch, who died in 1413; no doubt this painting was executed immediately after his death. I think that the majority of the frescoes in the cloister was executed after 1400 — probably even after 1410 — and before 1440. The painting of Christ teaching in the Temple is the one in which the German characteristics are most marked. They are equally evident in a fresco of the Virgin and Child enthroned between four saints, with a fat ecclesiastical dignitary kneeling in adoration, and other figures below; the same features but less pronounced characterize another fresco of similar composition; SS. George and Andrew escort the Virgin, near whose throne a devotee kneels (fig. 168).

The Gothic international style predominates in the frescoes of the vault where the German element is much less marked. Among the numerous scenes depicted here are Christ resurrected in the midst of the faithful, the Descent into Hell, Christ erect in His tomb between the Virgin, St. John and St. Agnes, and numerous figures of saints, Christ in the Garden of Olives surrounded by more or less symbolic representations bearing reference to the catholic faith, and lower down the Descent from the Cross, and the Virgin and Child with St. Bartholomew in a

⁽¹⁾ *Semper*, Die Wandgemälde und Maler des Brixener Kreuzganges, Innsbruck, 1887.

flowery garden. Another vault is adorned with scenes from the Old and New Testaments while a third is covered with medallions containing the symbols of the Evangelists and the Fathers of the Church at their desks. Similar medallions on yet another vault



Fig. 167. The Adoration of the Magi and the dead Christ between the Virgin, St. John, saints and adorers, Tyrolean School, circa 1417. Cloister, Brixen.

show the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi and the Presentation in the Temple. A fresco that the late regretted Signor Frizzoni found in a hotel in the town of Brixen belongs to this group⁽¹⁾.

This preponderance of the international manner over the

⁽¹⁾ *G. Frizzoni*, Ricordi di un viaggio artistico oltralpe. *L'Arte*, 1901, p. 222.

German style appears in a fresco of the Madonna and Child in a halo of light with figures of saints and other persons, on the façade of the church of St. Cyrilus, near Tils, not far from Brixen.

Lastly there is a group of frescoes in the cloister of the cathedral



Fig. 168. Madonna, saints and adorer, Tyrolean School, beginning of the 15th century. Cloister, Brixen.

of Brixen, in which the cosmopolitan Gothic style predominates to such an extent that at first sight it would be difficult to say for certainty in what country these paintings were executed. The first that might be cited is the Adoration of the Magi of 1417 that I have already mentioned (fig. 167); it shows a connexion in style with French art in particular or perhaps with certain Lombard productions, executed under a French influence. Another representation of the same subject shows more Italian features. Of

a slightly more German character are : an important Crucifixion with many figures (fig. 169)⁽¹⁾, a beautiful Annunciation under an open Gothic building (fig. 170), below which is represented the



Fig. 169. The Crucifixion, Tyrolese School, beginning of the 15th century, Cloister, Brixen.

dead Saviour on the Virgin's knee between the figures of the two SS. John, another similar Pietà with the donor presented by a saint, the decoration of one of the vaults depicting different works of charity and that of another vault in which in each of the four triangles an angel appears to two saints.

⁽¹⁾ Under the vault with scenes from the Old and New Testaments, but from a different hand.

There is no reason why the Tyrolese works in which the cosmopolitan Gothic element dominates, should not be considered the productions of the school of Brixen, but I am not of the opinion that we owe the appearance of the paintings of this group to a direct French influence⁽¹⁾, although, as I have already



Fig. 170. The Annunciation, Tyrolese School, beginning of the 15th century. Cloister, Brixen.

pointed out, there is naturally a very important French factor in the international movement of which they are an outcome. The appearance of certain works of Southern Germany and Bavaria clearly demonstrates that the source of the artists' inspiration need not be looked for in France.

⁽¹⁾ This is the opinion of Prof. *Burger*, op. cit. *Weingartner*, op. cit., believes in the existence of a centre in Meran to which the frescoes in Meran, Lichtenberg, Riffian and Schönnä all belong.



Fig. 171. Madonna and Child in a garden of lilies, miniature, Tyrolese School, first half of the 15th century. Ferdinandeum, Innsbruck.

Other Tyrolese works of the cosmopolitan Gothic style include several panels, such for example as the considerably repainted picture showing scenes from the life of the Virgin, originating from Schloss Tirol, now in the convent of Wilten, a Crucifixion

in the monastery of Neustift, near Brixen, and the late but rather important painting of the Virgin on a Gothic throne adorned with two angelic musicians, between SS. Jerome, John the Baptist, Peter and Paul with a bishop and another ecclesiastical dignitary kneeling below; this panel is preserved in the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore in Trent.

Some miniatures belonging to this artistic movement are also found. As such might be mentioned the crowned Virgin with SS. Barbara, Elizabeth and Catherine in the Celestial Garden in the Ferdinandeum, in Innsbruck (fig. 171); and those illustrating the Gradual, which was made before 1442 for the prior Nicolaus, at Neustift, near Brixen⁽¹⁾.

Very important for our knowledge of the style of the school of Brixen is a pen drawing faintly coloured in aquarelle, which was found at the beginning of the same Gradual, but it is the work of another artist and seems to be of a slightly earlier date (fig. 172). The Virgin, affectionately holding the Child, is seated on a very ornate Gothic throne, decorated with little figures of God the Father, angels and saints⁽²⁾.

The resemblance in style with the miniature at Innsbruck is so obvious, that we can but conclude that we are dealing here with two productions of the same local group.

A drawing of the Saviour on the Cross with the Virgin and St. John in the University Library of Erlangen has been justly attributed to the school of Brixen⁽³⁾, and to the same school belong also the miniatures in the different manuscripts which were executed during the period that Johann von Röttel was bishop of Brixen (1444—1450) and are now preserved in the Seminary of the town⁽⁴⁾.

Lastly, there are some frescoes which form part of this artistic movement, and although none of them is found in Brixen itself, I do not hesitate for a moment to agree with the general opinion

⁽¹⁾ *H. J. Hermann*, *Die illuminierten Handschriften in Tirol: Beschreib. Verzeich. der Illum. Handsch. in Österreich*, I. Leipzig, 1905, p. 221.

⁽²⁾ This drawing has been acquired by the *Stadelsche Kunstinstitut*, Frankfurt a. M.

⁽³⁾ *Burger*, *op. cit.*, fig. 328.

⁽⁴⁾ *Hermann*, *op. cit.*, pp. 16, 22, 32, and 35.



Fig. 172. Madonna and Child, pen drawing for illustration of a book. Tyrolean School. Stadelsche Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt on the Main.



Fig. 173. The Month of May, Tyrolese School, beginning of the 15th century.
Castle of Buonconsiglio, Trent.

Photo Alinari.

that it is to this centre of art that we must look for their inspiration.

The first of these are the frescoes in the chapel of the cemetery



Fig. 174. The Month of July, Tyrolean School, beginning of the 15th century, Castle of Buonconsiglio, Trent.

Photo Alinari.

of Riffian where the principal scenes illustrate the finding of the Cross and the Passion.

The mural painting in the Turmhalle — room under the tower — of Meran is of considerable importance. The figures, which are rather small, are depicted against a background of vegetation, a decoration which is reminiscent of the frescoes at Avignon.



Fig. 175. The Month of September, Tyrolean School, beginning of the 15th century. Castle of Buonconsiglio, Trent.

Photo Alinari.



Fig. 176. The Month of October, Tyrolean School, beginning of the 15th century. Castle of Buonconsiglio, Trent.

Photo Alinari.

The frescoes in the "Adlerturm" of the Castel di Buonconsiglio in Trent⁽¹⁾ rank among the most important profane decorations of the beginning of the 15th century (figs. 173—176). These paintings are well-known; they represent the twelve months of the year or rather the different occupations of the nobles and the peasants during each of the months. The scenes are all depicted out of doors and generally the seigneurs fill up the foreground while the peasants are depicted working in the background. All the pastimes of the noblemen are shown, including the chase, promenades accompanied by music, cavalcades, amorous games in flowery meadows, tourneys and snow-ball fights.

These frescoes are of a delightful decorative effect, chiefly on account of the thick vegetation which so frequently serves as background. Prof Burger, who believes in a French influence, remarks how the lack of perspective, as well as the unreal appearance of all the scenes, makes these works differ from similar French representations. Frau Kurth is of opinion that the types are German while Signor Fogolari observes that the costumes are Veronese. In fact we see a mingling of so many different styles, that it would be difficult to find a similar work elsewhere than just in Trent where the two principal currents must have met, but they met at a moment when the works of art, at least those of a certain importance, had acquired the characteristics of cosmopolitan Gothic painting. I believe that the backgrounds of verdure in these and similar frescoes, such as those in Meran, are imitations of Gobelins or at least inspired by this form of mural decoration of which the artist tries here to reproduce the effect.

I find that the presence in Bohemia of the elements of which the frescoes in Trent are comprised, renders it useless to imagine the existence of a French influence, already so unlikely here. Similar backgrounds of vegetation are found in the frescoes in

(1) *A. Wözl*, Das Kastell di Buonconsiglio zu Trient, Mittheil. des Centralkommission für Denkmalpfl., Neue Folge, XXXIII, 1897. *G. Fogolari*, Il ciclo dei mesi nella torre del Aquila etc., Tridentum, VIII, 1905, p. 173. *B. Kurth*, Ein Freskenzyklus im Adlerturm zu Trient, Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Institutes des K.K. Centralkommission für Denkmalpfl. V, 1912, p. 86. *Toesca*, op. cit., p. 462. *H. Semper*, Il castello di Buon Consiglio a Trento, Pro Cultura (Trento), V, 1914, supplement; *G. Gerola*, Il restauro del Buonconsiglio, Bollet. d'Arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr., vol III of serie II, 1924, p. 464.

the convent of Emmaus in Prague and in some of von Wittingau's works, while scenes of peasants driving waggons are shown in the miniatures of the bible of King Wenceslaus, although I do not deny that these elements in Bohemia can be traced to a French origin.

In any case I am not of opinion that these paintings, which must date from the first quarter of the 15th century, are Italian in appearance, except perhaps for the costumes, and certainly they cannot be cited as proof of an Italian penetration to the north of Verona. The few Italian features that we have discovered in Tyrol are very vague and extremely feeble compared with the evidence of a German influence in Veronese art. The types of the Madonnas of Stefano da Verona and his somewhat plastic Gothicism are obviously of German, particularly Tyrolese origin. The Madonnas of the miniatures in Innsbruck and Neusteft are the prototypes of those produced by Stefano, in whose art, besides, we notice correspondences in style with the painting of the whole of South Germany and even with that of Cologne. On the other hand, Tyrolese art does not show any outstanding features which might be considered as originating in the north-east of Italy, with the exception of the large crown worn by the Madonna of Neusteft, which is generally agreed to be an importation from Venice, and even then in Bohemian art and in that of Cologne, chiefly in the field of sculpture, crowns almost equally large are found on figures of the Virgin (¹).

Besides, why does Verona play such a special rôle? Why is Veronese art so different from that of Lombardy and of Venice? And of all the schools of Northern Italy, why is it only that of Verona which shows this resemblance to Tyrolese productions?

The reply to these questions is not that Veronese art was fundamentally different from the painting of the rest of North Italy but it was changed by the German influence which came through Tyrol and descended directly to Verona.

A fairly important figure, not because of his artistic merits but because of the place he occupied in the development of Veronese

(¹) *J. Weingarten*, op. cit., is very contrary to this idea and is of opinion that there existed a strong Italian influence in Tyrol. It is of some interest that in 1387 a Bettinus, pictor of Verona, worked at Trent (Repert. f. Kunstwiss. XXVI, p. 22) and that Stefano too was active in Tyrol.

painting, was Martino da Verona, who was active in 1396, is recorded in 1409 and 1410 and who died in 1413. I have already mentioned this artist in Volume IV as forming the link between Altichiero and Stefano da Verona. The only signed work that we possess from his hand is the series of frescoes around the pulpit in the church of S. Fermo in Verona ⁽¹⁾.

In examining more closely the Veronese productions of the beginning of the 15th century and having had the privilege of reading the manuscript of a highly important study that Signora Vavala has dedicated to Veronese painting of the 14th century and beginning of the 15th — a study which I hope before long will be published ⁽²⁾ — I have become aware of several other frescoes which should be attributed to Martino da Verona. Besides, several of them, such for example as the Madonna in the midst of angels on the tomb of Federigo Cavalli, who died in 1390, in the family chapel in Sta. Anastasia (fig. 177) and the enormous figure of St. Zeno in the church dedicated to this saint, have already been mentioned by me as contemporary works, belonging to the same group ⁽³⁾. Signora Vavala ascribes them to Martino himself, as well as a Crucifixion, and SS. Antony, Peter, Paul and Benedict in the apse of S. Zeno which, on account of the presence of the coat of arms of the abbot, Pietro Emilei, can be dated just after 1399. The escutcheon of Abbot Capelli is depicted on the chancel arch of the same church and consequently the decoration — an Annunciation — must have been executed in 1399. The arch of the church of Sta. Trinita is adorned with the same scene and some other figures.

From the hand of Martino seem to be also a rather repainted Madonna on the right wall of the church of S. Zeno and three figures of saints and St. Mary Magdalene near the tomb of the Salerni family in the church of Sta. Anastasia, where Signor Simeoni read the date 1401, which neither Signora Vavala, nor

⁽¹⁾ v. Vol. IV, p. 198.

⁽²⁾ It was published a short time ago: *E. Sandberg Vavala, La pittura veronese, Verona, 1926.*

⁽³⁾ v. Vol. IV, pp. 200 and 201. I do not find that there is a very marked resemblance between the paintings of Martino da Verona and the other frescoes in this chapel. *G. Corso, La cappella Cavalli in Santa Anastasia, Verona, 1910.*



Fig 177. Martino da Verona. Madonna and angels, after 1390. Sta. Anastasia, Verona.

Photo. Anderson.

I, myself, was able to discover. In S. Fermo the decoration of the tomb of Barnaba da Morano, who died in 1411, was of considerable importance; we can still see the figures of SS. Bartholomew and Gimignano, some fragments of a Last Judgment — the Saved and the Damned — and a representation of the meeting of the quick and the dead ⁽¹⁾. This must have been one of the artist's late works for he died in 1413.

One of the important productions of this painter is preserved in a niche to the left of the choir in the church of S. Stefano; it shows the Annunciation with the angel Gabriel kneeling before the Virgin (fig. 178) and higher up the Coronation of the Virgin, depicted according to Venetian iconography, with God the Father behind the two principal figures; the accompanying angels wear high collars after the fashion of the time. A similar costume is found in a fragment of the Last Judgment which is preserved in the church of St. Eufemia (fig. 179) and which Signora Vavala attributes as well to Martino, to whom the same critic assigns also a damaged fresco of the Madonna and Child in a mandorla with an infant adorer and saints in S. Stefano and a Madonna and Child on the stairs to the right of the choir in S. Zeno.

All Martino da Verona's works reveal him as a poor adherent of the tradition of Altichiero and not much more skilful than his contemporary Jacopo da Verona with whom he must have been in relationship, because in Martino's will there is question of a payment to be made to Jacopo. The new elements in his art consist in the representation of contemporary costume and longer and more Gothic forms which, together with certain attitudes, announce the art of Stefano da Verona.

Stefano da Verona ⁽²⁾ was born apparently about 1375. It is

⁽¹⁾ Il Giurista Barnaba da Morano e gli artisti Martino da Verona e Antonio da Mestre, *Nuovo Arch. Veneto*, 1910.

⁽²⁾ C. Bernasconi, *Studi sopra la storia della pittura italiana*, 1864, pp. 220-226. V. Cavazzocco Marzanti, *Stefano da Zevio*, *Arch. Stor. Ver.*, XXIV, 1886, fasc. 72. A. Pomello, *Stefano da Zevio*, Verona, 1899. E. Langer, *Über einen alter Maler, Meister Stephan*, *Kunstfreund*, 1900, p. 31. G. Gerola, *Questioni storiche d'arte veronese*, Verona, 1908, p. 150. G. Cervellini, *Quando nacque Stefano da Verona*, Verona, 1909, p. 97. L. Testi, *Questioni d'arte veronese*, Verona, 1909, p. 46. *The Same*, *Storia della pittura veneziana*, II, p. 100.



Fig. 178. Martino da Verona, angel. S. Stefano, Verona.

Photo Cracco.

true that Bernasconi provides us with data taken from the register of rate payers of 1433 in which Stefano is mentioned as being forty years of age, from which it should be concluded that he was born in 1393; but according to an extant civil document of 1425, he was born in 1375 because he is mentioned therein as: "*Magister Stephanus depictor quondam Johannis, etatis L An-*

norum", with his wife Tarsea of thirty-five years and his daughters Catalina and Zuaneta, the one of three years, the other of six months. No doubt, this piece of information with all its precise details is more deserving of confidence than that of Bernasconi, whose statements are not always very accurate. As many of the facts provided personally to the civic registrar, were given more or less approximatively, in all probability the ages inscribed here are not absolutely exact ⁽¹⁾. I should like to draw the reader's attention here to the fact that among Stefano's children there is no mention of a son named Vincenzo who, according to Vasari, existed and was also a painter. Lanzi, Bernasconi and Prof. A. Venturi admit his existence, but Maffei, even in his day, denied it and during the systematic researches, which were made by Signor Simeoni and Cavaliere Biadego in the archives of Verona, no trace of an artist of this name was discovered ⁽²⁾.

In 1434 Stefano is recorded as a witness and it is interesting to note that at this moment he lived in the Brughier castle in the region of Trent, consequently in a district where Tyrolese art had penetrated. In 1435 he signed the Adoration of the Magi, originally belonging to the Ottolini family of Verona but now in the Brera Gallery, Milan: "*Stefanus pinxit 1435*", and in Tomaso Salerno's will of October 10th 1438, there is question of an altar-piece for the chapel of St. Nicholas in Sta. Anastasia, that Stefano had not yet finished ⁽³⁾. Stefano's signature was once clearly visible on a fresco over the south door of St. Eufemia but it has now almost entirely disappeared ⁽⁴⁾. A fresco from a house in via Venti Settembre, now in the Gallery of Verona, also shows his signature, as did too a fresco inside the church of St. Eufemia.

Vasari pretends that Stefano da Verona was a pupil of Agnolo Gaddi and although chronologically this is not impossible and

⁽¹⁾ *Testi*, Pittura veneziana, loc. cit.

⁽²⁾ *A. Venturi*, op. cit., p. 242. *Simeoni*, Verona Fedele, 28th May 1907. *G. Gerola*, op. cit. *The Same*, Le attribuzioni delle opere d'arte in rapporto colla scuola pittorica veronese, Atti e Mem. dell'Acc. di Agr. Sc. e Lettere di Verona, Ser. IV, Vol. XX, 1919, p. 189.

⁽³⁾ *P. Nanin*, Disegni di varie dipinture a fresco in Verona, Verona, 1864, pl. 67.

⁽⁴⁾ *C. Cipolla*, Ricerche storiche intorno alla chiesa di Sta. Anastasia, L'Arte, 1915, p. 164, rather doubts if this fresco is really by the artist in question.



Fig. 179. Martino da Verona. fragment of the Last Judgment. S. Eufemia, Verona.

Photo Anderson.

in spite of the fact that Agnolo may have been in Venice, we have no reason to admit this hypothesis which, moreover, the painter's style contradicts in a most definite manner. Signor Gerola thinks that the very confused passages in which Vasari speaks of the connexion of the painter Liberale da Verona with Stefano and with Vincenzo di Stefano, should be interpreted as meaning that Liberale was a pupil of Stefano's, which on account of their respective dates seems to be impossible, as is also the fact that the latter artist was active still in 1463, the date at which Vasari pretends that he painted in the Ognissanti church in Mantua. All these statements are without any foundation and result in the most utter confusion. That Donatello admired the works of Stefano at Verona — another of Vasari's affirmations — is quite possible. Bernasconi imagined from this statement that Stefano was still alive when Donatello visited Verona but again, on account of chronological reasons, this is not very likely.

It is again Vasari who informs us that Stefano had a brother to whom he gave his artistic education. This brother was called Giovanni Antonio and was the founder of the Falconetto family, a name that we find under a drawing of the Veronese school.

Lastly, as Signor Gerola remarks, it seems highly improbable that Stefano used the name of "da Zevio". Panvinus, in his description of Verona, tells us, that he was a native of "Gebetum" which is the Latin name of the village of Zevio in the region of Verona ⁽¹⁾, but in neither document nor signature is this denomination made use of, his name being always given as either Stefano or Stefano da Verona. The error was, no doubt, made by Panvinus, who confounded the origin of Stefano with that of Altichiero, the only other Veronese painter that this old writer mentions.

Vasari, Maffei, Lanzi, Rosini and Dal Pozzo ⁽²⁾ add further confusion by making of the place "Gebetum" a person called Sebeto, or by creating out of this one figure Stefano, two distinct artists, one active in 1384 with Altichiero in Padua, the other

⁽¹⁾ *O Panvinii*, *Antiquitatum Veronensium libri*, Padua, 1648. p. 171.

⁽²⁾ *B. Dal Pozzo*, *Le Vite dei pittori veronesi*, Verona, 1718, p. 12 *Rosini* attributed the Adoration of the Magi, now in the Brera Gallery, to Stefano-Giottino.

called "da Zevio", thus if they are to be believed, there were two Stefanos, one old, the other young, and a third artist called Vincenzo di Stefano (¹). The existence of two Stefanos seems to be confirmed by a testament of 1427 in which "Stephano pintore filio ser Antonii Messeti q. Guidonis de Sancto-Paulo Verone", figures as witness (²).

Vasari, however, is much more interesting when he speaks of Stefano's works. First he tells us of the artist's perfection in fresco painting, examples of which are found in Verona and Mantua, that he excelled in the execution of putti, women and old men, and that Pietro da Perugia, the miniaturist, imitated his figures, as can be seen in the manuscripts in the cathedral of Siena (³). Then he gives a list of Stefano's paintings that were known to him (⁴): in Verona, in the church of S. Antonio to the left under a vault, a Madonna and Child with SS. James and Antony (but Maffei tells us that in his day — 1732 — this fresco was being white-washed); in S. Niccolo, a figure of the patron saint (this church was re-built in 1627—1630); on the façade of a house in the via San Polo which leads to the Porta del Vescovo, a Madonna with angels and a figure of St. Christopher; in a niche on the wall of the church of Sta. Consolata in the via del Duomo, a Madonna with birds and a peacock which was the painter's distinctive sign; in the church of St. Eufemia, a fresco of St. Augustine and two other saints and a group of monks that St. Augustine protects under his cloak; two prophets on the outside wall of the same church; a painting of the Saviour, angels and SS. Augustine and Jerome in the chapel of the Holy Sacrament; on a pillar in the choir, a figure of St. Euphemia which he signed in gold and nearby a peacock "as was his custom" and two little lions, less well executed "as it was impossible for him to paint them from nature"; for the same church he made an altar-piece which, among many other figures, showed that of St. Nicholas of Tolentino with scenes from his life in the predella; in S. Fermo, opposite the side door, he frescoed a Descent from the Cross,

(¹) *P. Caliari*, Dal pittore Vincenzo di Stefano, Verona Fedele, XXXVI 1906. No. 117.

(²) *R. Brenzoni*, Stefano da Verona ed suoi freschi firmati, Verona, 1923.

(³) *Vasari-Milanesi*, I. p. 642.

(⁴) *Vasari-Milanesi*, III. p. 628.

twelve prophets, Adam and Eve at their feet and a peacock. At Mantua in S. Domenico near a side door, a Madonna of which the head alone has been preserved; it was detached and is now kept in the St. Ursula chapel where we find other frescoes from his hand; in a chapel of S. Francesco, the figures of the Evangelists against a background of vegetation, in which birds — peacocks in particular — and angels are depicted; a figure of St. Mary Magdalene in a pillar in the same church; in one of the streets in Mantua, called Rompilanza, a Madonna and Child with angels against a background of fruit trees.

In spite of the distrust with which all Vasari's information concerning painters of passed generations usually inspires us, there are in this list some facts which deserve a certain interest, because not only the fresco under which Vasari saw the master's signature but all the others as well really seem to be from the artist's hand. The presence of peacocks that we notice in so many of his pictures, and the backgrounds of plants and verdure, are typical features of the master's style.

For our knowledge of Stefano's art — who, as we saw, must be called Stefano da Verona — the most important piece is the Adoration of the Magi in the Brera (fig. 180), a small panel, it is true, but none the less very characteristic, well preserved and signed. It is a painting which was executed when the artist was about sixty years old. The composition is divided into two distinct parts; in the foreground a large gathering of people among whom we see some of Eastern origin and many animals — horses, dogs, oxen, asses and a peacock — is grouped around the Child, Who, seated on His Mother's knee, receives the precious gifts from the Eastern Kings. In the background the servants look after the camels and the dogs or repose and refresh themselves. Between the hills in the background we see still another group of horsemen; the shepherds with their flock are depicted to the left. It is a charming picture full of those realistic details which characterize the end of Gothic art, and of the elements of a genre scene.

What strikes us in comparing this painting with Stefano's other works, is that a feature peculiar to this manner is the rather elongated form of the figures which is accentuated by the long, sweeping lines which run sometimes from head to foot in one



Fig. 180. Stefano da Verona, the Adoration of the Magi. Brera, Milan.

Photo Alinari.

stroke; this is very evident in the figure of the Virgin and in that of the second King, who stands and touches his crown. The length of the extremities, particularly of the fingers, is in accordance with this style of painting. Several of his other works show this feature, which must consequently have developed towards the painter's old age. We find it very clearly in a picture of the Virgin enthroned, offering a flower to the Child, Who sits on her knee, in the midst of ten angels, two of whom are playing musical instruments, which is now in the picture gallery in the Palazzo Colonna, Rome (fig. 181). It is a work in which the forms have a grace and elegance almost more pleasing than in the signed panel. Vasari's statement with regard to the regularity with which the peacock appears in Stefano's paintings, is once more confirmed here, but there are also some little birds and fruit among the decorative details.

Executed very much after the same style are the remains of the fresco decoration in the church of S. Fermo, where we no longer find the paintings mentioned by Vasari but a fresco, representing, against a background of vegetation, two groups of angels dressed in white, one of which to either side holds a scroll, while two other angels fly overhead. It is one of the finest manifestations of this manner in the artist's career.

There are also some drawings very typical of this phase. Two of them, beautiful pen and ink drawings, in the British Museum, formerly in the Malcolm collection, represent each a seated figure of a bearded man, the one apparently shouting with his hand to his mouth to make his voice carry, the other of melancholy mien making a curious affected gesture with his long tapering fingers (figs. 182 and 183) ⁽¹⁾. We find the same characteristics in a pen and ink sketch in the Print Room in Dresden, where the central figure is the Madonna standing, her hand on the Child's neck; another female figure, perhaps the Virgin without the Infant Christ, holds her curious hands before her breast. There is yet another little study on which little more than the head of a woman

⁽¹⁾ Vasari Society reproductions, IV, Nos. 13 and 14. *Hill*, Pisanello, p. 174 note, believes that they belong to the Veronese school. *Venturi*, op. cit., p. 123, seems to think that they are by Pisanello. In the 18th century they were published by Mulinari as works by Giotto!



Fig. 181. Stefano da Verona, Madonna and angels. Colonna Gallery, Rome.

Photo Andersen.

is visible. Some lines of writing are inscribed above (fig. 184) ⁽¹⁾.

To the same series seems to belong a drawing in the collection in the Uffizi (1106), showing on one side three figures of women —



Fig. 182. Stefano da Verona, drawing. British Museum.

Photo Vasari Society.

of one of them not much more than the head — and on the verso two semi-nude female figures, one of them apparently nursing her child.

Quite recently the Italian government bought a very beautiful picture of the Virgin crowned and enthroned, holding the naked Child lying on her knee and carrying a rose in her hand, which to a certain extent still shows the peculiarities of style which

⁽¹⁾ *Frizzoni*, *L'Arte*, 1901, p. 238.

we found characterized this first group of works⁽¹⁾. The Virgin is attired in a dress of rich material, her face, of a long oval shape, wears a very sweet expression. The plump Child is somewhat thoughtful. This panel, which I think is one of Stefano's most



Fig. 183. Stefano da Verona, drawing. British Museum.

Photo Vasari Society.

pleasing works, is now hung in the Palazzo Venezia (fig. 185).

Showing a much less marked resemblance in style to the panel of 1435 and for that reason I think a still earlier work, is the

⁽¹⁾ Formerly this picture belonged to Prince von Bülow, *F. Hermanin*, *Una tavola di Stefano da Zevio a Palazzo di Venezia*, *Bolletino d'Arte del Ministero della Pubblico Istruzione*, October 1923, p. 166.



Fig. 184. Stefano da Verona, drawing. Print Room, Dresden.

Photo Braun.

charming panel of the Virgin, sitting in a rose garden in the Gallery of Verona (No. 559). The Child Jesus, a finger in His mouth, looks at a chorus of angels singing from a book; indeed little



THE MADONNA IN THE ROSE GARDEN

By Stefano da Verona, Gallery, Verona.

Photo Anderson.



Fig. 185. Stefano da Verona. Madonna. Palazzo Venezia, Rome.
Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

angels seem to be scattered all over the picture, some are seen in mid air, gathering roses, others carrying them away in a little basket, while several are grouped around a monstrance. Numerous birds are seen in the garden and perched on the hedge which surrounds it. In the foreground two peacocks and another large bird are depicted near the crowned figure of St. Catherine, who, seated, strings a garland with the petals of roses that an angel brings her; the saint's emblems — the wheel and the sword — lie on the ground. The delicious little vision of heaven has no appearance of reality, but the artist conceived it with that complete indifference to real life that more generally characterizes the work of miniaturists. Moreover the technique and the complete absence of perspective in this beautiful piece of decorative work recall in particular the art of miniature painting.

A rough sketch for part of this picture is preserved in the Albertina in Vienna; it represents four figures of angels, two of whom are seen flying ⁽¹⁾.

There are several other drawings belonging to this stage in Stefano's career. One of them is often attributed to Pisanello; it is in the Uffizi and represents a unicorn, which takes refuge near St. Justina, while three huntsmen and two dogs in pursuit of it stop before this group (fig. 186) ⁽²⁾. Another in the Ambrosiana Library, Milan, which depicts an allegory of grammar and dialectic — two figures of princesses, one of whom holds two serpents, both surrounded by several other figures — is executed in this manner ⁽³⁾.

A fragmentary sketch in the British Museum (Sloane 5227-12), showing a woman nursing her child, a woman asleep and a female head, bears some resemblance to this drawing, but has some points in common also with the sketch in Dresden ⁽⁴⁾. I

⁽¹⁾ *L. Venturi*, *L'Arte*, 1922, p. 112, in the edition of drawings, No. 1305. An inscription on this leaf ascribes it to the hand of Ghiberti.

⁽²⁾ *Hull*, *Pisanello*, p. 174 note, is of opinion that this drawing belongs to the Veronese school. In *Venturi's* edition of Vasari's lives of Gentile and Pisanello, it is attributed to Pisanello. In 1778 Mulinari published it as a work by Giotto.

⁽³⁾ *Toesca*, *op. cit.*, judges it to be very close to Stefano's art. *Venturi*, *op. cit.*, p. 279, seems to think that this drawing belongs to the school of the Zavattari.

⁽⁴⁾ *A. M. Hind*, *Un disegno di Stefano da Zevio nel British Museum*, *L'Arte*, 1907, p. 374



Fig. 186. Stefano da Verona, St. Justina and the unicorn. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Alinari.



Fig. 187. Stefano da Verona, *Madonna in the rose-garden*. Museum,
Worcester, U.S.A.

Photo Conger.

think that some words that we see at the foot of this drawing are from the same hand as the inscription on the sketch in Dresden. On the verso, there are some other studies, including a leg and a torso.

The subject of a picture in the Museum of Worcester, U.S.A., shows a fairly marked resemblance to that of the panel of the Madonna in the rose-garden in the Gallery of Verona. Again the



Fig. 188. Stefano da Verona, Madonna and angels. Parish church, Illasi.

Photo Anderson.

Virgin is depicted in a garden full of flowers; she sits on the ground, holding the Child in her lap. A great many angels are grouped around her, some singing and some playing on musical instruments, but most of them gathering roses and flying with them towards the Madonna. God the Father and the dove are seen in the centre of the background (fig. 187).



Fig. 189. Stefano da Verona, Madonna and saints. S. Giovanni in Valle, Verona.

Photo Anderson.

This picture is rather different in style from the other works that have been mentioned, that is to say from those of a more mature stage in the artist's career. The Gothicism is less marked than in the panel of 1435 and the productions which can be classified in this manner are neither so fine nor so elegant as the picture to which this example shows a resemblance in composition, but of which it lacks the charm.

The rest of the master's works are of less artistic importance, and are, no doubt, productions of his youth or executed at less happy moments of the painter's activity.



Fig. 190. Stefano da Verona, Madonna and St. James. Salerni chapel, Sta. Anastasia, Verona.

Photo Cracco.

In the parish church of Illasi, near Verona, we find a picture representing the Madonna crowned, sitting on the ground, against a background of little trees, while six angels are seen above; in her lap lies the naked Child, Who plays with His feet; in front of the Virgin there are some still quite visible remains of a fairly large peacock, depicted in profile (fig. 188). In spite of the dilapi-

dated state of this picture, we can perceive that the quality of painting was not very good. The work as a whole lacks finesse; this is particularly obvious in the figures of the angels, but also in that of the Virgin, who, with her drooping hands, is very lifeless.

Little finer in execution is the fresco of the Madonna on a throne of a very severe form, between SS. Bartholomew and Antony Abbot (fig. 189), with medallions containing the Divine Lamb, St. John the Baptist and the prophet Isaiah, which adorns the soffit outside the door of S. Giovanni in Valle; it is a work which, in spite of the rather pleasing forms, lacks life and inspiration.

A resemblance in style will be noticed between this fresco and another in the Salerni chapel, the last to the left from the choir in the church of Sta. Anastasia in Verona. The Virgin, attired in pink and white, is depicted in a meadow full of flowers, holding the curly-headed Child on her knee; St. James presents to them a knightly devotee (fig. 190).

Of the fresco which Vasari mentions in the church of Sta. Eufemia, we find, over the side door, still the figure of St. Augustine, which seems to be executed in Stefano's manner, as well as the surrounding half-length figures of saints and prophets and the angel of the Annunciation.

A print in Nanin's "*Gli antichi affreschi di Verona*", published about 1864, gives the original composition: the saint is seated on an elaborate Gothic throne, to either side of which kneels a group of adorers, presented by SS. Nicholas of Tolentino and Euphemia; figures of prophets adorn the spandrels and the projecting side walls where SS. Monica and Thomas of Villanuova are also depicted. The signature, "*Stefnu pinxit*" is inscribed at the sides of the back of the throne⁽¹⁾. I have referred to the fragments of the Last Judgment in the choir, when speaking of Martino da Verona.

Nanin gives a reproduction, also of part of the fresco which Vasari mentions in via S. Polo, since changed to via Venti Settembre. It shows the Madonna enthroned with St. Christopher

(¹) *Brenzoni*, op. cit.



Fig. 191. Stefano da Verona, drawing. Lugt Collection, Maartensdijk (U.), Holland.

carrying Christ on his shoulder, looking up towards a little angel, who points towards three angelic figures flying in mid air, to the left. The signature: "*Stefanu pinxit*" is seen to the left of the throne. What remains of this fresco has been brought to the Gallery of Verona (No. 1203), but now it is reduced to a frag-

ment on which the figure of the Virgin can scarcely be recognized and that of an angel is very vague⁽¹⁾.

To the list of Stefano's works should be added a drawing in the Lugt collection, Maartensdijk, Holland, previously in the G. L. collection, representing four horsemen (fig. 191). Two of them are engaged in combat, while of the others, one approaches at full gallop the site of the duel and the other, sword in hand, retreats from it, but turns round to look at the battle. It is really only a sketch, in which the details are lacking, but the movements and expressions are depicted with extraordinary life and spirit. The technique of the drawing is rather curious, the lines for the shading are so far apart, one from the other, that the effect is somewhat strange. Some words are inscribed on the page and in the right corner the name, "*Stefanus*", is seen. The calligraphy is of the 15th century and can be dated, I think, even more approximately to the first half of the century.

In the same collection we find still another pen and ink drawing of the Veronese school, showing considerable resemblance to Stefano's manner. It represents a seated woman, seen in profile; with one hand she holds a fold of her dress and with the other drops an anchor behind her (fig. 192); it depicts consequently an allegorical figure of Hope. Above it is written "*di mano di falconetto*", who, as we have seen, was Stefano's brother.

⁽¹⁾ *A. Venturi*, op. cit., p. 234, attributes to Stefano still a detached fresco of the Coronation of the Virgin, from the church of SS. Cosme e Damiano, now in the Gallery of Verona and a fresco on a tomb of one of the members of the Thiene family in Sta. Corona, in Vicenza. *B. Berenson*, *North Italian Painters of the Renaissance*, New York-London, 1907, p. 302, ascribes to him still two figures of saints in his own collection, the frescoes in the bell tower of Sta. Maria della Scala (which are by Badile) and a Crucifixion in the chapel to the right of the choir in the same church. Further he doubtfully attributes to Stefano a Madonna seated in a meadow and a hermit with a crow, in the Poldi Pezzoli Museum, Milan (586, 591). The latter is quite in Stefano's manner but the Madonna is more distantly connected with his school and has been attributed to Gentile da Fabriano by *A. Venturi*, *L'Arte* 1898, p. 495, and to the Veronese school by *A. Colasanti*, *Gentile da Fabriano*, Bergamo, 1909, p. 150. Other works, wrongly attributed to Stefano are the handkerchief of St. Veronica in the Malaspina Gallery, Pavia (by Giambono). Mr. Berenson mentions a predella panel, depicting the stoning of St. Stephen, in the Gallery of Vienna, which I find there no longer. In the Correr Museum, Venice, a panel showing on one side five angels and on the other a saint attired as a high official is attributed, in my opinion erroneously, to Stefano.



Fig. 192. Falconetto (?), drawing, Hope. Lugt Collection,
Maartensdijk (U.), Holland.

Although the style of the drawing confirms this hypothesis, the inscription counts for little, because it does not seem to be prior to the 16th century. Moreover this name is found on a drawing

of Hercules killing the lion, in the same collection, which is certainly from a different hand (fig. 193).

A very important collection of drawings is preserved in the Uffizi and is sometimes wrongly attributed to the German engraver, who is known as the "maitre aux banderolles" (Nos. 2264—2281, 18304, 18305) (fig. 94—200) ⁽¹⁾. These sketches, which are very little known, no doubt originally formed one album; we notice for example that the Madonna of the Annunciation, of which the angel is shown on the verso of one page, is represented on the recto of the following page. Besides there can be no doubt, that all these drawings, although of a slightly different technique, are from the same hand; many of the pages show the same watermark — the half-length figure of a deer — and all the paper is of the same texture.

There is a fairly large number of drawings of religious subjects; they include two Annunciations, two Crucifixions of large dramatic compositions, with horsemen, the two crucified thieves and the group of the Madonna fainting in the midst of her three faithful companions, a Pietà with several figures, a very pleasing Madonna and Child, quite after Stefano's manner, the archangel Michael, St. George slaying the dragon, a man sitting and a phantastic figure in a rocky landscape, very faintly indicated, fishing scenes, perhaps illustrating a legend, a stag jumping a fence, two deer resting, allegorical representations and mythological personages, such for example as Tubalcain sitting before his anvil (?), much in the same manner as Giotto depicted it, as well as grotesque figures adorning letters, similar to those in the sketch-book of Giovannino de' Grassi. These drawings bear a close resemblance to Stefano's works; we find in them the same types and the same spirit, but none the less, I hesitate to ascribe them to this master, because the forms are slightly more German than those in Stefano's authentic productions.

Signora Vavala, whose study on Veronese painting I have already mentioned, informs me that quite recently a saint and some angels in the church of Sta. Anastasia and some fresco fragments in the Roman theatre in Verona have been discovered. These works seem to be from the hand of Stefano.

⁽¹⁾ They are nineteen in number and not twenty-five as is stated by *Bariola*, *Gallerie Nazionali Italiane*, V, 1902, p. 370 note 2.

The works of the school of Stefano da Verona are fairly numerous.

I shall not enumerate all the drawings belonging to this ar-



Fig. 193. Hercules and the lion, drawing, Veronese School, middle of the 15th century. Lugt Collection, Maartensdijk (U.), Holland.

tistic movement, many examples of which are found in the various print rooms of Europe ⁽¹⁾.

The fact is that many Veronese productions, prior to the second

⁽¹⁾ v. Reproductions of drawings published by the Albertina, pl. 1292 and Neue Folge, 1. Drawings from antique carved reliefs in the Ambrosiana, Milan; v. *Toesca*, op. cit., fig. 363, Uffizi, 1101, 1102, 1103, 1104, the last one in Stefano's manner. Catalogue of the G. L. sale, at Sotheby's, London, May 1924, Nos. 114, 115, 116, 146. Vallardi collection, fol. 130 (three men's heads). Various drawings in the Lugt collection, Maartensdijk. Drawings of a somewhat later date in the British Museum. Vasari Society reproductions III, Nos. 7, 8, 9, and IV, No. 1 (figs. 201 and 202).



Fig. 194. Leaf of a sketchbook, Veronese School, beginning of the 15th century.
Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Gab. fot. Uffizi.



Fig. 195. Leaf of a sketchbook. Veronese School, beginning of the 15th century.
Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Gab. fot. Uffizi.



Fig. 196. Leaf of a sketchbook, Veronese School, beginning of the 15th century.
Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Gab. fot. Uffizi.

half of the 15th century, belonging to Stefano's school, include those that Pisanello executed at an early stage in Verona itself. Many frescoes belonging to his manner are found in the different churches of the town, such for example as that in the chapel to the left of the high altar in Sta. Anastasia, where, over the doors, we see a representation of the Holy Trinity and the figures of a



Fig 197. Leaf of a sketchbook, Veronese School, beginning of the 15th century.
Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Gab. fot. Uffizi.

holy bishop and St. Peter the Martyr. The church of S. Giorgetto, also known as S. Pietro Martire, is adorned with a pleasing fresco of the Virgin sitting on a cushion between SS. Antony Abbot and

Leonard who presents the donor (fig. 203) ⁽¹⁾. Others are a painting of St. Gregory saying mass in S. Stefano, a Madonna in the choir of Sta. Maria della Scala and another in a glory of light in the church of S. Zeno; the last mentioned fresco is a work contemporary with Stefano's activity.



Fig. 198. Leaf of a sketchbook, Veronese School, beginning of the 15th century. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Gab. fot. Uffizi.

A large polyptych in the Gallery of Verona (No. 11) shows considerable connexion with Stefano's art, deriving, as do the works of Stefano, from the art of the other side of the Alps. This

⁽¹⁾ The name of the donor, Federico da Porto, is also given. The date in the inscription has been interpreted as 1412, but the painting appears to be slightly later. Apart from dates of the 14th century we find on the walls still those of 1424 and 1442. *S. Maffei*, *Le epigrafi veronesi in volgare*, Verona, 1880, p. 16. *C. Cipolla*, *Appunti di S. Maffei sulle epigrafi Veronesi*, Madonna Verona, 1910, p. 82. *G. Gerola*, *I cavalieri tedeschi etc. affrescati in S. Giorgetto di Verona*, idem, 1912, p. 205.



Fig. 199. Leaf of a sketchbook, Veronese School, beginning of the 15th century.
Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Gab. fot. Uffizi.

painting, however, seems to be contemporary with, if not anterior to Stefano's activity. It originates from the church of Boi and shows, in the centre, the Virgin sitting on an imposing throne and in the lateral panels, St. James, St. Antony Abbot with a miniature adorer, St. John the Evangelist with a female devotee and St. Christopher (fig. 204).

A very early manifestation of Stefano's influence in Verona is



Fig. 200. Leaf of a sketchbook, Veronese School, beginning of the 15th century.
Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Gab. fot. Uffizi.

shown in the works of Ranuccio Arvari⁽¹⁾. On the altar-piece in

⁽¹⁾ *G. Trecca*, Una tavola di Ranuccio Arvari nell' arcipretale di Porto Legnago, Madonna Verona, 1909, p. 149. *G. Fiocco*, Ranuccio Arvari, idem, 1912, p. 229. *G. Biadego*, La fiorentina famiglia Eovari trapiantata a Verona, idem, 1915, p. 182. Catalogue of the Exhibition of Veronese Art, 1919–1920, idem, 1919, p. 89.



Fig. 201. Drawing, Veronese School, middle of the 15th century. British Museum.

Photo Vasari Society.



Fig. 202. Seated Officials, drawing, Veronese School, first half of the 15th century. British Museum.

Photo Vasari Society.

the chapel "del Rosario" of the church of Porto, at Legnago, the Madonna of Humility is depicted sitting in a flowery field, tenderly holding the Child, Who is adored by a Dominican monk. The Virgin and angel of the Annunciation are represented in the upper corners of the picture. The large aureole behind the central figure seems to be a later addition; in fact, the whole picture has



Fig. 203. School of Stefano da Verona. Madonna and saints. S. Pietro Martire. Verona.

Photo Cracco.

suffered through restoration. It is signed: "*Ranucius darvariis pis*". The Arvari family is of Florentine origin, but as early as 1277 the name is found in Verona. No documents concerning this painter have ever been found. The work, which has been attributed to the 14th century⁽¹⁾ and by Cavalcaselle to Antonio Negroponte, is a typical Veronese production of the beginning of the 15th century. Signor Fiocco⁽²⁾ attributes to the same artist a painting representing the Madonna with the naked Child lying on her knee in the midst of a host of angels, while God the Father

⁽¹⁾ *L. Simeoni*, Verona, 3rd ed., 1910, p. 423.

⁽²⁾ *Fiocco*, loc. cit.

appears above, which is preserved in the church of Porto at Legnago. The attribution is, I think, quite correct and we have in this fresco a much less restored work of the artist, which shows him to have been a provincial painter of little skill but obviously inspired by Stefano's art.

I know a good many paintings, mostly on panels, which can be classified as belonging to Stefano's school.

In the Gallery of Verona there is a fairly important picture (No. 374) in which the Virgin without the Child is portrayed between two mounted saints; to the left, St. George slaying the dragon, while the princess stands behind, to the right, St. Martin dividing his coat with the beggar. The pinnacles are adorned with the two figures of the Annunciation and St. Michael, balance and sword in hand, overcoming the devil (fig. 205). The forms, although somewhat puerile, none the less reveal a knowledge of Stefano's art. The picture dates from 1428 and the name of the donor, Sister Lucia de Franchanzanis, is inscribed. It comes originally from the convent of S. Martino ad Avesa.

Belonging also to this style we find in the same museum a crucifix (no. 857) with SS. Peter and Paul and other figures of very curious appearance on the terminals of the cross and a detached fresco (no. 1195) showing in the centre a half-length figure of the Virgin, holding the Child in an affectionate attitude. In a private house in Verona, there exists a detached fresco of the Madonna and Child and St. Christopher; it is a poor painting of the school of Stefano (¹).

A work of little merit is an oval painting attached to a pillar near the entrance of the church of SS. Nazario e Celso (fig. 206). It is evident that the features are borrowed from Stefano's art, but the technique is somewhat rustic and the work, which is considerably restored, is probably of rather a late date.

A work of Stefano's school has been found, quite lately, in Illasi, while in the new museum, which is being arranged in the Castel Vecchio of Verona, several other paintings of his school, until now unknown, are to be shown (²).

A panel, more closely approaching Stefano da Verona's art, is a mystic marriage of St. Catherine in my own collection (fig. 207).

(¹) *Vavala*, op. cit., fig. 134.

(²) I owe this information to the kindness of Signora Vavala.

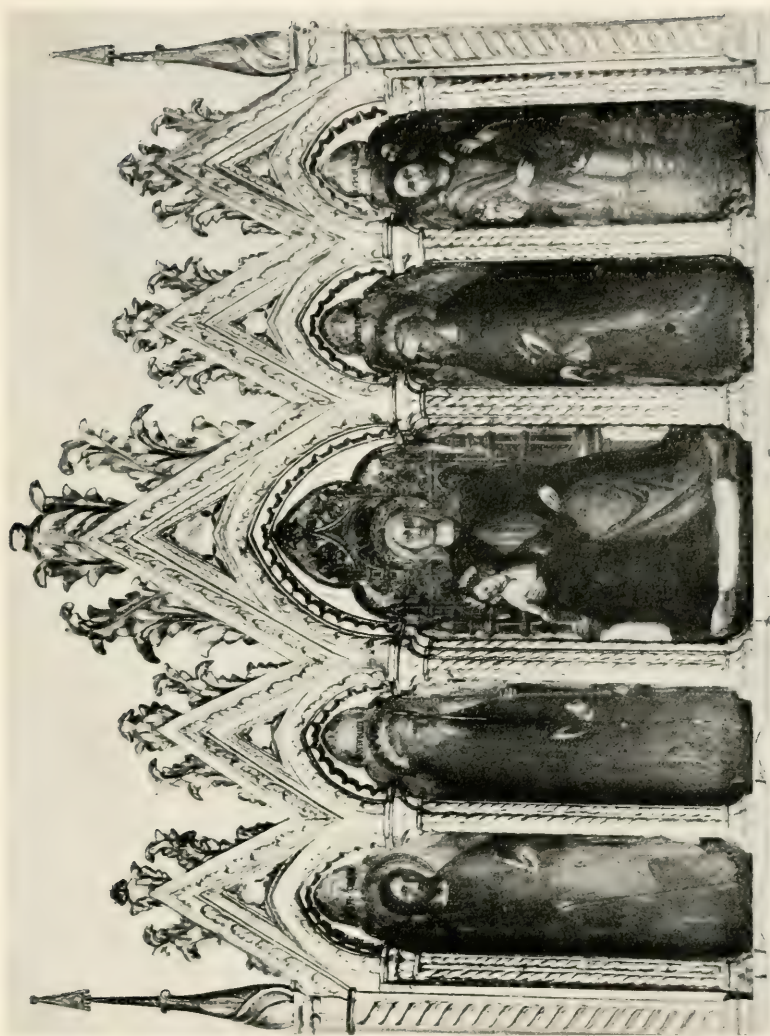


Fig. 204. Altar-piece from Boi. Veronese School, beginning of the 15th century.
Gallery, Verona. Photo Cracco.

The Virgin holds the Child, Who is almost naked, standing on her knee, the Infant passes the ring on to the finger of the saint whom the Virgin holds by the hand. The type of the faces, the tapering fingers and the Gothic drapery clearly reveal that the source of the painter's inspiration was Stefano's art at a fairly advanced stage in its development.

A charming Madonna of Humility was acquired by Mrs. Hill and will, I think, be presented to the Wellesley College, Mass. The Virgin, seated in a flowery field in which rabbits are running wild, adores the Child Jesus, lying on her knee; trees form the background of the picture (fig. 208).



Fig. 205. School of Stefano da Verona, Madonna and saints. Gallery, Verona.
Photo Anderson.

Bearing a fairly close resemblance to the latter work is a painting of the Madonna, sitting in a meadow in the midst of angels, which was recently bought by the Stadelsche Kunst Institut, Frankfort a. M.

Among the furniture of the Genin collection in the Grenoble Museum, is found a little panel of the Veronese school, representing the Madonna of Humility sitting in the midst of small trees. It shows a somewhat crude version of Stefano's art. Very much



Fig. 206. School of Stefano da Verona, Madonna and angels. SS. Nazario e Celso, Verona.

Printed by Anderson.

finer is a painting of the same subject in a private collection in Amsterdam. Perhaps by the same hand is a similar Madonna in the Lanckorowzki collection, Vienna. Another is found in the gallery of the Prince Archbishop of Esztergom (Hungary), where there is also a picture of this current of a somewhat later date, showing the Virgin between SS. Bernardine of Siena and Antony Abbot.

About ten years ago I saw a picture belonging to this school in a private collection in Rome. The Virgin, seated on an ornate throne, holds the inkstand for the Child, Who writes on a scroll: "*ego sum lux mundi etc.*" An angel stands at either side of the throne while a third kneels below, as also the miniature figure of the donor, near whom is depicted a coat of arms (fig. 209). The direct influence of Stefano is also very obvious in this picture.

Not so close to Stefano's manner is a picture in a private collection showing the Virgin sitting in a flowery field, nursing the Child, between the figures of SS. Jerome and Antony Abbot (fig. 210).

Works belonging to this artistic movement are not rare. I know at least seven Madonnas of the Veronese school which are for sale at the present moment. They all depict the Virgin, seated on the ground or on a cushion, in a meadow. Two of these paintings are of a certain importance. One of them, of a fairly German inspiration, shows against a gold background adorned with large flowers, the Virgin adoring the Child, Who has fallen asleep on her lap, His head supported by an angel. The other, which bears more resemblance to Stefano's manner, depicts the Virgin and Child in the midst of a host of angels and SS. Catherine of Alexandria and Hippolytus.

I know of only two miniatures which can be classified in this school. They adorn a "Frammenti e Triomphi di Petraca", written in 1414 in Bologna, which is now preserved in the library of Munich (Cod. Stal. 81) (fig. 211). The figures are executed with much life and spirit. The somewhat elongated Gothic forms are similar to these found in Stefano's paintings (¹).

I think Stefano's influence can be discovered in the figures adorning a piece of gilt glass in the Museo Civico of Turin (No. 3040). The Madonna is depicted sitting on the ground, offering

(¹) The miniatures in a breviary in the Ferdinandeum, Innsbruck, might also have been executed in Verona. *H. J. Hermann*, op. cit., p. 83.



Fig. 207. School of Stefano da Verona, the Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine.
van Marle Collection, Perugia.

a flower to the Child: an angel flies over head and a lamb is seen in the gable⁽¹⁾.

One of the last to feel the influence of Stefano da Verona was the painter, Cecchino da Verona, who is recorded in documents of 1447 and 1464 and who died before 1480⁽²⁾. The very mediocre art of this little master is known to us by a panel of the Virgin between SS. Vigilius and Sisinius, in the Diocesan Museum of Trent, which is signed: "*Cecchino de Verona pinxit*" (fig. 212). The influence of Stefano's art is noticeable, especially in the attempt to create graceful forms in the Virgin's figure and in those of the two angels which decorate the partitions between the Madonna and saints.

By the same minor artist is, I think, a panel in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris, representing St. Francis receiving the stigmata, a female adorer and two knights embracing one another, evidently a peace making. A long inscription gives the name of the donor, the date 1432, and the reason why this commemorative picture was executed: namely that by invoking St. Francis a duel between two Spanish knights was avoided⁽³⁾.

A fresco fragment of the tree of St. Bonaventura in the church of S. Fermo, Verona, is sometimes, but without any grounds, assigned to Cecchino da Verona.

The works of Giovanni Badile are also an outcome of Stefano's manner⁽⁴⁾.

There was a whole tribe of painters of the name of Badile in Verona. They belonged to eight different generations. The first painter of this name was a certain Niccolo, who died before 1393

(1) *P. Toesca*, *L'Arte*, 1908, p. 257, finds here sooner an influence of Gentile da Fabriano.

(2) *Zannandreis*, op. cit., p. 39.

(3) *T. Borenius*, *Italian Cassone Paintings*, Apollo, III, 1926, p. 132.

(4) *Dal Pozzo*, op. cit. *Zannandreis*, op. cit. *Bernasconi*, op. cit., *Arch. Stor. dell' Arte*, 1890, p. 220; *Nuov. Arch. Veneto*, 1906, II, p. 91. *L. Venturi*, *Le origini della pittura veneziana*, Venice, 1906, p. 75. *L. Simeoni*, *Gli affreschi di Giovanni Badile in S. Maria della Scala di Verona*, *Nuovo Arch. Veneto*, 1907, I, p. 152. *G. Gerola*, *Johannes Baili, Madonna Verona*, 1908, p. 166. *L. Testi*, *Questioni storiche d'arte veronese*, idem, 1909, p. 50. *L. Venturi*, *L'Arte*, 1909, p. 80. *Cavazzocca Mazzanti*, *I pittori Badile. Madonna Verona*, 1912, p. 19. *G. Tura*, *Ancora a proposito dei Badile*, idem, 1915, p. 85. *L. Testi*, *Storia della pittura veneziana*, II, 1915, p. 94.



Fig. 208. School of Stefano da Verona, Madonna. Wellesley College, U. S. A.

and whose relationship with the others is unknown. Contemporary with Antonio, the father of Giovanni, there was a Francesco, whose son, Pietro Paolo, was active at the beginning of the 15th century. As Giovanni had a son of the same name, they were no doubt related. Giovanni's father, Antonio, was a painter and a town councillor; we gather that he must have died before 1409, from an entry concerning Giovanni in the register of taxes of that year. Giovanni was born in 1379; his wife's name was Lucia; Polissena was not the name of his second wife but that of his daughter-in-law. Of his six children, three were painters and we find descendants of Giovanni's following the same trade, even in the first half of the 17th century. Giovanni's name is recorded in administrative acts of 1409, 1418, 1425, 1433, 1443 and 1447. In 1422 he buys land and in 1421 he, together with Maestro Cora, judges a painting executed by Francesco da S. Michele alla Porta. In 1448 he makes his will (¹).

Concerning Giovanni, we know also that in 1443 he painted the extant frescoes in the Guantieri chapel, to the right of the choir in Sta. Maria della Scala (²), and that he died before 1451, since his son Antonio is mentioned in a document of that year as: "*quondam Magistri Johannis Pictoris*". Further, Giovanni's signature is found at the foot of the central panel of the polyptych originating from the church of S. Pietro Martire, now in the Gallery of Verona (No. 375).

It has been affirmed that this signature is false. The first to say so was Prof. L. Venturi; he was supported in this opinion

(¹) For these documents and others v. *Cavazzocca Mazzanti*, loc. cit.

(²) *Caliani*, Dal pittore Stefano di Vicenzo, Verona Fedele, May 25th, 1907, contradicts Simeoni and propounds the theory that this picture was executed by Vincenzo, the son of Stefano da Verona; a graffito gives more or less the words "[*Ste*]/anus pictoriis", while in a will of an Arcoli of 1492 disposition is taken for the rebuilding of the entire chapel. To this *Simeoni*, in the same paper of May 28th, replies by demonstrating that the graffito is certainly 'not an original signature, that the paintings are of the first half' of the 15th century and correspond perfectly with the details of the contract of 1443, even to the presence of the coat of arms of the Guantieri, so that the chapel could not have been changed after 1492. Besides it is the adjacent chapel that is decorated with the coat of arms of the Arcoli. *Simeoni* demonstrates further that Stefano da Zevio or da Verona had no son of the name of Vincenzo.



Fig. 209. School of Stefano da Verona. Madonna and angels. Private Collection.



Fig. 210. School of Stefano da Verona, Madonna and saints. Private Collection.

by Signor Gerola and by his father, Prof. A. Venturi⁽¹⁾. Signor Gerola is of the opinion that the signature was added to the pic-

⁽¹⁾ *A. Venturi*, op cit., p. 228, Also more or less by *G. Trecca* in the Catalogue of the Gallery of Verona (1912) p. 10.

ture after Campagnola, in his additions to the work of Dal Pozzo, published the documents concerning the Badile family, but the reason for perpetrating a similar falsification to a picture that has never been on the market, is not easy to explain. Further the calligraphy corresponds perfectly with that of the signature



Fig. 211. School of Stefano da Verona. miniature, 1414. Library, Munich.

Photo Riehn & Tietze.

of Bartolomeo Badile on a fresco in S. Pietro Martire. Signori Testi, Simeoni, Biadego⁽³⁾ and Commendatore Colasanti⁽⁴⁾ believe that the signature is quite authentic and I, too, am of this opinion. Besides, although a comparison between this panel and the frescoes in Sta. Maria della Scala reveals — as has already been pointed out — a certain difference, I do not think that the difference is sufficiently great to admit of two different hands.

⁽³⁾ *G. Biadego*, Verona. Bergamo, 1909, p. 86.

⁽⁴⁾ *A. Colasanti*, Gentile da Fabriano, p. 62².

The frescoes in the chapel of Sta. Maria della Scala are in a very poor state of preservation and on account of the obscurity of the place – the chapel being situated in the bell tower – the paintings can be seen only in a very bad light. The frescoes, of considerable number, are arranged in three rows; the lunette over the door is also decorated and the Crucifixion above the tomb must be from the same hand.

Besides the illustrations of the legend of St. Jerome (fig. 213), there are also represented some scenes from the history of St. Philip of which there is no mention in the contract published by Signor Simeoni, but as this critic remarks, the document is not complete and it is quite possible that these paintings were referred to in that part now missing. Moreover the Guantieri, who ordered the decoration, was called Philip, so that nothing is more natural than that the life of his patron saint should be illustrated here.

What strikes one most on looking at these paintings is the profusion of architecture; this, besides, was one of the reasons for wishing to date them from about 1500. This architecture, however, is thoroughly Gothic and on the contrary sooner confirms the hypothesis that the works date from the beginning of the 15th century. The figures in these paintings reveal the artist as an adherent of Stefano da Verona's manner, not a very skilful one, but all the same possessing a certain spirit and showing some originality in the forms, which are larger and rounder than Stefano's. Some of the faces have those very expressive and individual, almost grimacing, features, that are found in certain Lombard productions more frequently than in Stefano's works.

The figures of the large polyptych (figs. 214–216) with the signature, do not show the same execution and apart from the difference which results from the diversity of technique, the one a fresco, the other on panel, we must also admit that they are productions of two different periods in the artist's career. The panel shows him under a stronger influence of Stefano (¹) and it is probably a work of an early stage of his activities. Nevertheless, particularly in the types of the faces, a considerable resemblance is noticeable between the frescoes and the panel.

(¹) Signor *Gerola* even thinks it possible that the work might be by this artist.

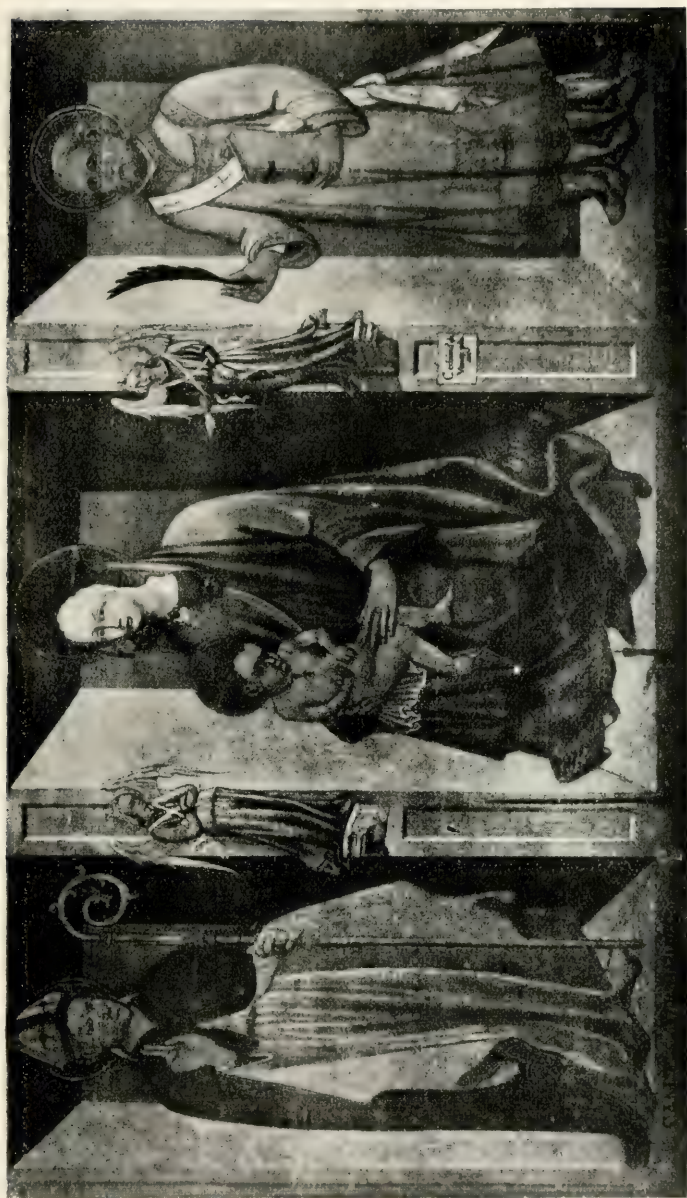


Fig. 212. Cecchino da Verona, Madonna and saints. Diocesan Museum, Trent.

Photo Unterwiesing.



Fig. 213. Badile. story of St. Jerome. Sta. Maria della Scala, Verona.

Photo Anderson.

In the centre, the Virgin is depicted sitting on a simple bench; the Child, who is rather stodgy in appearance, plays with His foot, while to one side an adorer kneels on the base of the seat, beyond which can be seen a small piece of the meadow, in which it is placed and in which a few rigid flowers grow. There are three panels of saints to either side; to the left are depicted SS. James, George and Antony Abbot and to the right St. Peter the Martyr, a holy bishop and a female saint with two lions at her feet.

The panels are framed in a beautiful Gothic frame of Venetian



Fig. 214. Badile, polyptych. Gallery, Verona.

Photo Anderson.

style. The signature, "*Johes Baili*", is inscribed in the right lower corner of the central panel.

A characteristic work of Giovanni Badile and one which compares favourably with the above mentioned polyptych is a small panel representing the Virgin nursing the Child, originally in the Marquard collection, Florence, now in that of the author (fig. 217). The Child, in particular, has the same appearance as we noticed in the polyptych.



Fig. 215. Detail of fig. 214.

Photo Anderson.



Fig. 216. Detail of fig. 214.

Photo Anderson.

Very probably also by Badile is a fairly important but unfortunately very much restored panel in the Gallery of Verona (No. 364). It represents, against a black background, the Virgin and Child with SS. Nicholas and Andrew and a little devotee kneeling; it is a work which again reveals very clearly the rapport between Stefano and Badile (fig. 218).

By Bartolomeo Badile, who was born in 1414, mentioned in documents of 1445 and 1451, died before 1463, and who was the son of the fore-mentioned Giovanni, a signed painting was discovered



Fig. 217. Badile, Madonna. van Marle Collection, Perugia.



Fig. 218. Giovanni Badile(?), Madonna, saints and adorer. Gallery, Verona.

Ph. to Anderson.

in the church of S. Pietro Martire, also called S. Giorgetto, in Verona⁽¹⁾. It is a considerably damaged votive fresco of the type known throughout the north of Italy in the 14th century; to the side of the Virgin stand a holy warrior and a female saint, with a knight kneeling in adoration at her feet. As I said before, the signature: "*Bartolomeus Baili*" shows a resemblance in the form of the letters with that in the polyptych of Giovanni, Bartolomeo's father. The execution is fairly mediocre and does not reach Giovanni's standard of painting. I see no reason to admit that different hands took part in the painting of this fresco⁽²⁾.

I find sooner that there exists a connexion in style between the work of Giovanni Badile and the frescoes which adorn the tomb of Cortesia Sarego in the choir of Sta. Anastasia, where there remains, to one side, the angel of the Annunciation near a piece of architecture, while to the other side the building alone is visible, the figure of the Virgin having disappeared (fig. 219). Besides this composition, which Pisanello repeated more or less, we see lower down, to either side, an angel and a holy Dominican monk with somewhat apish features⁽³⁾. These paintings date in all probability from 1432, a date which is found painted on the wall close by. The monument was erected here between 1424 and 1429.

⁽¹⁾ *Cavazzocca Mazzanti*, op. cit. *G. Gerola*, op. cit. *Testi*, Stor. della pitt. ven., loc. cit. *G. Gerola*, Madonna Verona, 1912, p. 205 note 2. In Vol. IV, p. 194, I made a mistake in saying that the frescoes of the 14th century in this church had disappeared; some very damaged remains are still visible.

⁽²⁾ Adjacent to this fresco there is another of identical but reversed composition. The existence of this painting, which is by another artist, of a slightly earlier date perhaps, accounts possibly for the error that *C. Biermann*, Verona, Leipzig, 1904. p. 102, made in supposing that Antonio and Pietro Paolo, the brothers of Bartolomeo, helped him in the execution of this fresco. There is no foundation for this hypothesis, nor is there any for the attribution to Bartolomeo of the figures of God the Father, Guglielmo da Castelbarco and Daniele Gusmano on the arch of S. Fermo Maggiore of 1314 (v. Vol. IV, p. 180) which old descriptions of Verona all the same attributed to a Bartolomeo Badile, who was a painter of another generation, and died in 1545.

⁽³⁾ These are the paintings that *A. Venturi*, op. cit., p. 238, attributes to Vincenzo da Stefano, a painter, who, as we saw, seems to have existed only in Vasari's imagination. Prof. Venturi ascribes to the same hand a painting of St. Thomas Aquinas in the Gallery of Verona.

Works resembling in style Giovanni Badile's manner are somewhat rare, and for this reason I shall mention a panel that I saw about ten years ago in a private collection in Paris, representing



Fig. 219. School of Giovanni Badile, angel of the Annunciation, 1432(?). Sta. Anastasia, Verona.

Photo Anderson.

in the centre the Virgin with the Child, sitting in a meadow escorted by twelve little angels, arranged in a semi-circle, St. Joseph and a young saint holding the model of a church and a flag. The two figures of the Annunciation are depicted in medallions. The chief source of the painter's inspiration is certainly the art of Stefano da Verona, but revealed to him through that of

Badile. This painter, however, worked at a slightly later period than these two artists.

We still find in the Gallery at Verona a restored picture of the Madonna seated on a cushion in a field (No. 22) and a little, rather crudely executed panel of the Virgin in the midst of trees, with the Child, Who wears a coral charm (no number), both of which reveal a knowledge of Badile's art.

This group of paintings, although not very large, gives us, none the less, quite a good idea of the very well defined and homogeneous artistic movement which took place in Verona in the first half of the 15th century and which even explains to us the existence of certain plastic works, which were executed in Verona during this period, such for example as some of the reliefs, one of which — St. Martin and the beggar — dates from 1436, in the museum and the terracottas in the Pellegrini chapel in Sta. Anastasia (fig. 220).

Far from convincing us of the expansion of the Italian influence towards the north, the Veronese school, at least that part of it which was dominated by the master, Stefano, reveals sooner a direct dependence on German painting ⁽¹⁾.

Even the composition of the Madonna, sitting in a flowery field with little angels playing around her, has a lyricism which is thoroughly German. It recalls to our minds the works of the Rhine school, such for instance as the "Garden of Paradise" in the Historical Museum of Frankfort a. M. or the Virgin in the rose-garden by Lochner, in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum in Cologne and many other examples in which the Madonna is depicted seated among flowers. These works show types of the Virgin's face of pathetic aspect and sentimental expression, which are thoroughly German, and quite characteristic of the productions of Lochner and Master Wilhelm.

The long Gothic line of the folds is seen in Bohemian painting, particularly in the works of the Master of Wittingau. These Rhine and Bohemian elements intermingle in the south of Germany and, as we saw, to a certain extent also in Tyrol. In Bavaria, in the painting of the school of Nuremberg in particular, and in the sculpture, there are some elements very significative of

(1) *Zoege v. Mantzfel*, Pisanello, pp. 91 and 107.

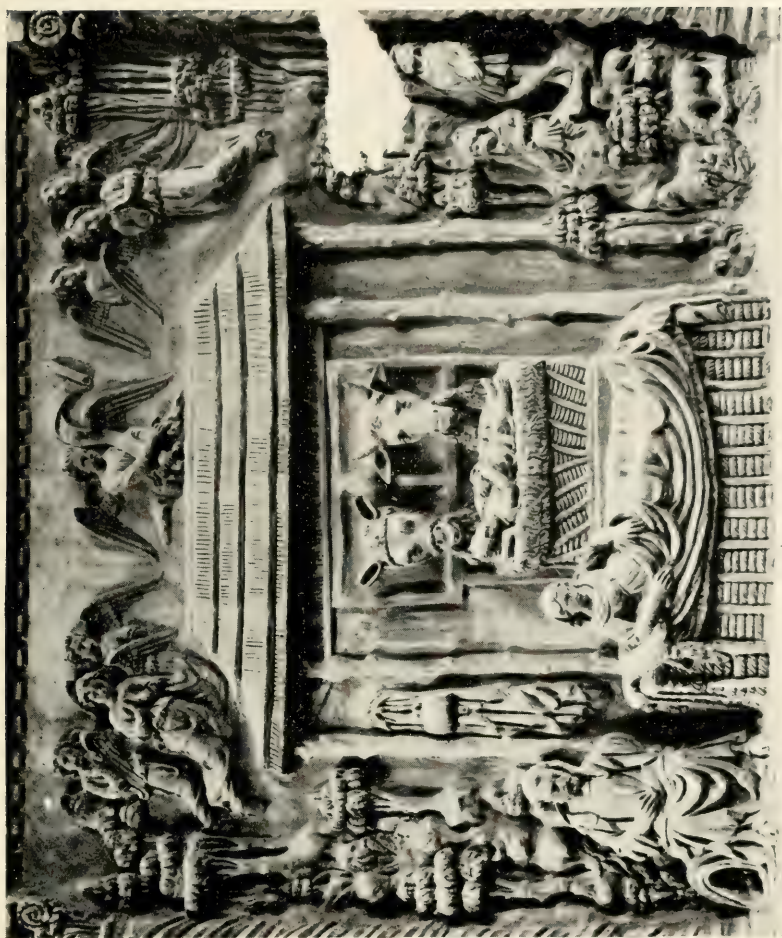


Fig. 220. The Nativity, relief in terra-cotta. Pellegrini chapel, Sta. Anastasia, Verona.

Photo Alinari.

Stefano's works (fig. 221) and the unquestionable resemblances which exist between the miniatures at Neustift and at Innsbruck and the paintings of Stefano, especially the Madonna in the Palazzo Venezia, Rome, are certainly not of Italian origin, but entirely German.

Not only in Bavaria do we find prototypes of Stefano da Verona's figures, but in the "golden panel" in the Museum of Hanover and in the works of Meister Franke, in fact to a certain

extent in all German art of about the year 1400, and if ever a French influence has been observed in Stefano's painting, it is the outcome of an intermingling of those elements, out of which cosmopolitan art developed and in which the French factor was naturally represented, particularly in the Bohemian school. Besides, it should not be forgotten, that French Gothic painting originates from the Sienese school, so that it is but an Italian influence which, issuing from Central Italy, proceeding by France, Bohemia and the Germanic countries, returns a hundred years later to Italy, entering by the north.

That this group of Veronese painters was inspired chiefly by German art, seems to me incontestable and this fact is all the more important, if we consider that an influence spread from Verona to the other artistic centres of Italy.

Pictorial productions of the Veronese school, which do not belong to the group of which Stefano was the principal figure, are rare, and in this fact we have another argument in favour of the hypothesis of a German influence, introduced by Stefano, who, as we saw, went to Tyrol. It was only those who followed his art, who knew and adopted the German style, for this movement did not exist before his time. I would even say, that it was towards the end, or least in the second half of his career, that we more especially discover this tendency and it is from this time onward, that we notice it in the works of his adherents.

In another volume⁽¹⁾ we saw how already at the end of the 14th century the Veronese school produced a large number of works, which were immediate but very Italian precursors of this manner of Gothic painting which flourished at the beginning of the 15th century. These works sometimes showed a more marked connexion in style with other productions, such as the paintings of Altichiero and Avanzo, and there was certainly no trace of any German influence.

This artistic movement continued to exist even at the beginning of the 15th century, but compared with the group, composed of the works of Stefano and his school, it was of very minor importance.

There is not a single work in this group which can be ascribed

(1) Vol. IV, p. 197.



Fig. 221. The Madonna, sculpture, South German School, beginning of the 15th century. National Museum, Munich.

Photo Kiehn & Tietze.

to a fixed master; we are consequently limited to a simple enumeration; of some I shall give but a very summary description. Naturally this group includes principally votive frescoes, because this form of painting was the chief production of the previous generation and it was this tradition that persisted. The composition too is generally the same as that of the 14th century. In the church of S. Pietro Martire examples are found, showing the date 1412, but these paintings seem to be of a slightly later period⁽¹⁾. Numerous votive frescoes adorn the Salerni chapel in Sta. Anastasia. One of them showing the Madonna in the midst of saints, dates from the year 1457, while another gives the signature(?) of the artist, "*Johannes de Basilea*", the name of the donor, "*Andolo de Bononia*" (Bologna) and the date 1401⁽²⁾. It has been thought possible that this artist, to whom several of these frescoes can be ascribed, should be identified with the painter Boninsegna, whose signature Maffei saw and who lived from 1407 till 1429⁽³⁾.

To this group also belong a Crucifixion in the apse of S. Zeno⁽⁴⁾ and the decoration of the vaults in the church of Sta. Anastasia, which bears the date 1437⁽⁵⁾. One of the vaults shows four medallions, containing the figure of St. Peter the Martyr protecting the faithful under his cloak; they include monks, nuns and laics, both male and female (fig. 222). In the other vaults we see representations of different saints. Pretty borders and ornamental motifs fill up the rest of the vaults. The figures are of very mediocre quality.

⁽¹⁾ C. Cipolla, *Madonna Verona*, 1910, p. 82. G. Gerola, *idem*, 1912, p. 205¹ Inscriptions of similar frescoes, dating from 1424 and 1442 are preserved on the walls of the same church.

⁽²⁾ C. Cipolla, *Ricerche storiche intorno alla chiesa di Santa Anastasia*, L'Arte, 1915, p. 165.

⁽³⁾ C. Cipolla, *Il pittore Boninsegna*, Arch. Venet., XLV, 1882, p. 213. G. Gerola, *Il pittore B. e la famiglia di Martino*, Atti del R. Ist. Ven. di Sc., XIX, 1910, p. 407. *The Same*, Thieme Becker, *Künstler Lexikon*, IV, p. 300. v. Vol. IV, p. 179.

⁽⁴⁾ There are two Crucifixions in this church, one in the apse, which I have just mentioned, and the other of the 14th century, high up on the left wall. In Vol. IV, p. 188, I have, by mistake, referred to the latter as being in the apse.

⁽⁵⁾ Cipolla, *Ricerche intorno S. Anastasia etc.*, L'Arte, 1914, p. 186.

I think Herr Schubring is right in placing in the Veronese school a cassone painting with the history of Lucrezia, in the André Jacquemart Museum, Paris; I am more doubtful about the one with the story of Paris in the Lanckoronski collection, Vienna⁽¹⁾.

Other paintings belonging to this school, might still be cited⁽²⁾, but they are really of very little importance and serve only to



Fig. 222. St. Peter the Martyr and groups of faithful, Veronese School, 1437. Sta. Anastasia, Verona.

Photo Alinari.

point out that not the entire pictorial activity of the Veronese school was engulfed in the group headed by Stefano, although the majority of the great number of artists, who existed in the first half of the 15th century, but by whom, although their names have come down to us, we do not possess one authentic work.

⁽¹⁾ *P. Schubring*, Cassoni, Truhen u. Truhenbilder etc., Leipzig, 1915, Nos. 644 and 648.

⁽²⁾ Another Madonna, belonging to the Veronese school, is found near Aquasanta (prov. Ascoli Piceno, The Marches), in the church of S. Lorenzo; the Virgin is depicted between the Baptist and St. James.

must have belonged to Stefano's school, the productions of which were by far the more numerous⁽¹⁾.

Pisanello, also a painter of Verona, who, particularly at the beginning of his career, was very much influenced by Stefano, must be dealt with apart.

(¹) *A. Avena e A. Mazza*, Per la storia dell' arte in Verona nel sec. XV, Madonna Verona, 1917, p. 122, mention Antonio (1441, 1487), Antonio da Pontapietra (1435, 1443), Battista (1442), Bettino da Firenze (1435), Bonagostino del fu Vagiati (1435, 1456, 1458), Daniele (1443, 1457), Jacobo di S. Cecilia (1436, 1442), Marco di Gerardo da Venezia (1440), Marco di S. Marco (1442), Matteo da Belluno (1435), Michele da Vicenza (1440), Michele da S. Michele alla Porta (1435), Michele da Firenze (1435, 1436), Simontaddeo (1436), Zenone (1420). *Vittorio Fainelli*, Per la storia dell' arte in Verona, L'Arte, 1910, p. 218, had previously mentioned the painters: Cristoforo da S. Michele alla Porta (1434), Michele da Firenze (already mentioned, 1436), Daniele di S. Michele alla Porta (1443), perhaps the same as a Daniele (1457) and a Daniele da Verona (1457). *Bernasconi*, op. cit., Chap. II, informs us, that when Francesco II Novello di Carrara had his palace painted on the occasion of his entry into Verona in 1404, he employed Jacopo di S. Cecilia, Silvestro della Seta, Corrado di Bonaventura di S. Paolo and Giovanni S. Sebastiano, all four belonging to Verona, and Antonio Guarnerio, Domenico Paino, and Natale, three artists from Padua.

CHAPTER IV.

VENICE, PADUA AND DALMATIA. (1)

Various elements are to be met with in the earliest manifestations of cosmopolitan art in Venice; they are the transformation of the art of painting of the 14th century with Niccolo di Pietro, who was mentioned in Vol. IV as the latest representative of that group, and the influence of Gentile da Fabriano, who, as we know, was already in Venice in 1408, that is to say at the beginning of Jacobello del Fiore's pictorial activity, who was the earliest Venetian artist to adopt the Gothic style of the 15th century.

There exists in the Metropolitan Museum of New York a very curious painting of the Venetian school, depicting St. Ursula, seated in a glory and surrounded by twelve of her eleven thousand companions (fig. 223). This highly decorative painting shows unmistakable evidence of the influence of the art of Guariento to whom it has, besides, been attributed (2).

The Gothic effects, however, which can be observed especially in the gorgeous raiment of the saint and the treatment of the features, lead us to believe, that, none the less, we have before us a more developed artistic form, the introduction as it were to the cosmopolitan Gothic style as practised in Venice. Without wishing to give an opinion, it seems to me, that it is on these lines that we must picture the art of Francesco, the father of Jacobello del Fiore; it is not so much the passing away of the art of the

(1) *F. Sansovino*, *Venetia citta nobilissima etc. discripta*, Venice, 1581. *Zanitta*, *Della pittura veneziana etc.*, Venice, 1771. *P. Paoletti di Osvaldo*, *Raccolta di documenti inediti per servire alla storia della pittura veneziana nei secoli XV e XVI*, Padua, 1895. *L. Venturi*, *Le origini della pittura veneziana*, Venice, 1906, p. 80. *L. Testi*, *Storia della pittura veneziana*, I, Bergamo, 1909, p. 391; II, 1915, pp. 9, 80. *G. Ludwig*, *Archivalische Beiträge zur Gesch. der Ven. Kunst: Ital. Forschungen*, IV, Berlin, 1911. *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, *A History of Painting in North Italy*, ed. Tancred Borenius, I, London, 1912, p. 1.

(2) *Sirén*, *Burlington Magazine*, XXXIX, 1921, p. 169. v. *Metropolitan Museum Bulletin*, June 1923.

14th century, still strongly manifest in the works of Niccolo di Pietro, as the blossoming of that late Gothic style, which we are at present considering.

There are no works of Jacobello's father extant, although Caffi has attributed some miniatures to him ⁽¹⁾. The family crypt was built by Jacobello in 1433 in the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo where his father was buried. The latin epitaph and the sculptured figure of Francesco, clad in a toga, must date from that time ⁽²⁾, the dutiful son alluding to his father as "the summum of pictorial art". Francesco is mentioned when the corporation of painters was transferred to S. Luca in 1376, as being a member of the committee of that corporation ⁽³⁾. His will is dated 1398 and he died some time before 1415. Lanzi tells us that the chevalier Strange had bought and taken to London a small altar or diptych, signed and dated 1412. The signature of Francesco on a painting at Murano was a forgery ⁽⁴⁾.

His son Jacobello was the first clearly determined figure of Venetian painting in the beginning of the 15th century ⁽⁵⁾. Jacobello had two brothers; one, Pietro, took orders, the other, Nicholas, was a painter. He had a relative named Jacobus del Fiore and many other painters are found with the same surname as late as 1535 ⁽⁶⁾.

There is documentary evidence that Jacobello was fairly

⁽¹⁾ *Caffi*, Giacomello del Fiore, pittore veneziano, Archiv. stor. Ital., 4th serie, 1880 p. 440.

⁽²⁾ This is especially probable since the inscription only mentions as his son, Jacobello, although, as we shall see further on, he had other children.

⁽³⁾ *Bottari* ed. *Picozzi*, Lettere sulla pittura, Milan, 1922, p. 498 (*Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, op. cit., p. 3 note 3).

⁽⁴⁾ *L. Lanzi*, The History of Painting in Italy, translated by Th. Roscoe, 2nd ed., II, London, 1847, p. 86.

⁽⁵⁾ *Vasari-Milanesi*, III, pp. 639 and 653. *Mas Latrie*, Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartres, XXX, p. 195 and Gazette des Beaux Arts, XIX, 1865, p. 272. *Caffi*, Sui pittori veneziani del Milletrecento, Arch. Ven., XXXV; *Gazetta di Venezia*, 21st Aug., 2nd Sept. 1875; *Arte e Storia*, 1890, p. 111. *Cecchetti*, Arch. Veneto, XXXIII, 1887, p. 52. *G. Della Monica*, Un opera di Jacobello o. Giacomello del Fiore a Teramo, *Arte e Storia*, 1890, p. 141. *Cavacchiali*, Repert. f. Kunstwiss., XVII, 1894, p. 267; *Rassegna d'Arte*, I, 1901, p. 151; *Rivista Abruzzese*, I, 1902, p. 442. *G. Lorenzetti*, L'Arte, 1910, p. 137. *G. Ludwig*, op. cit., p. 92. *Valentini*, Boll. d'Arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr., VII, 1913, p. 272. *L. Planiscig*, Jacopello dal Fiore, *Jahrb. der Kunsthist. Samml. in Wien, Neue Folge*, I, 1926, p. 83.

⁽⁶⁾ *v. Ludwig*, loc. cit. *Testi*, loc. cit



Fig. 223. St. Ursula and her companions, Venetian School, circa 1400. Metropolitan Museum, New York.

wealthy. Especially do we see this in his will, dated 1439⁽¹⁾, and in his wife's wills of 1460 and 1463⁽²⁾. In his will is mentioned also his adopted son Ercole, to whom he leaves his colours if it is his choice to become a painter, which Ercole did and we find references to him as such from 1440 to 1466. He died in 1483 (1484)⁽³⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *Mas Latrie*, op. cit. *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, op. cit. *Testi*, op. cit.

⁽²⁾ *Ludwig*, op. cit.

⁽³⁾ *Ludwig*, loc. cit. *Testi*, op. cit., I, p. 396; II, p. 80.

Jacobello we find mentioned in 1401, 1407, 1418⁽¹⁾, 1421, 1427 and 1431. In 1424 he married Lucia and in documents dated 1415, 1427, 1432 and 1434 he is recorded as living in the quarter of the town, called S. Moyse and in 1415 he was, according to Zanetti, the head of the corporation of painters. He died sometime between October 2nd and November 8th 1439. That he was held in high esteem we gather from the fact that even before 1412 he worked for the Signoria of Venice at the extremely high salary of 100 gold ducats, which salary was reduced by half in the hard times of war. Still other dates were to be found on some works which have disappeared⁽²⁾.

A panel, formerly in the church of S. Cassiano at Pesaro⁽³⁾, was dated 1401 and in the same town, in the church of Sta. Maria di Monte Granaro, there was another picture, signed and dated 1409.

According to Michiel (the Anonimo Morelliano) and Sansovino, he executed in 1418 some figures of Apostles, larger than life, which were formerly in the "della Carita" school⁽⁴⁾, a St. Dominic(?) in the Corpus Domini church and, perhaps the same year, a figure of St. Peter the Martyr in the oratory of the school of S. Marco. An Adoration of the Magi in the Vallardi collection, Milan, bore the date 1420, but I do not know on whose authority this picture was assigned to Jacobello⁽⁵⁾.

A signed Madonna in the Manfrin collection seems to have shown the date 1434 or 1436; perhaps this work should be identified with a painting in three parts in the Accademia of Venice (no. 13), to which we shall return later on.

Lastly some of the master's dated works have come down to us.

(1) I do not know for what reason Sansovino mentions only the year 1418 as date of Jacobello's activity.

(2) *A. Ricci*, *Memorie storiche delle arte e degli artisti della Marca di Ancona*, mentions a Madonna by Jacobello in the church of S. Arcangelo, near Rimini, showing the date 1385, which does not correspond with the time of our artist's activity.

(3) Which some writers have wished to identify with the series of saints, now in the gallery of that town.

(4) Lanzi provides us with these facts, telling us that the signature ran: "*Jacometto de Flor*"; others have read the date as 1408. v. *Ricci*, op. cit., I, pp. 205, 224, or even 1407. There seems to be a certain amount of confusion in connexion with this picture and it is not even absolutely sure that it was by our painter.

(5) Vallardi deciphered the signature as: "*Giacomo da Firenze*."



Fig. 224. Madonna and adorer, Venetian School, early 15th century.
Store-room, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.

They are the lion of St. Mark of 1415 in the Palace of the Doges, the figure of Justice between two archangels of 1421 ordered by the "Magistrato del Proprio", originating also from the Ducal Palace, a repainted fragment of a picture, which came from the monastery of S. Gerolamo, but which was burnt in the church of S. Aloise; it represented the priest Filippi kneeling before the blessed Pietro Gambacorta of Pisa — figure now missing — and seems to have shown, when the panel was intact, the signature "*Jacobel de Flore MCCCCXX*". There is still the Coronation of the Virgin in the midst of saints, which was called the "picture of Paradise"; it is now in the Accademia of Venice but came originally from the cathedral of Ceneda. Lanzi informs us that a manuscript in the episcopal palace of Ceneda records that Bishop Antonio Correr of Ceneda had it executed in 1432, but Caffi tells us that the signature read: "*Jac. De Flore. P. 1438*", an inscription which an unfortunate restoration effaced. Federici in his "Memoires de Triviso" gives the same date but the signature as "*Cristoforo de Fiore*" (1). Jacobello's name figures once more as the painter of a crucifix, sculptured by Antonio di Ranieri, in the parish church of Castel di Mezzo at Fiorenzuola di Focara, in the province of Pesaro (2).

The few dated works we possess do not allow us to form a very definite idea of the evolution of the master's art. Quite recently I found in the store-room of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, a picture, which can be placed mid-way between Niccolo di Pietro and Jacobello. It is a Madonna enthroned, holding the Child, Who blesses a little adorer elegantly attired (fig. 224). The throne is adorned with mosaic work and statuettes and the general appearance of the picture closely resembles the Madonna by Niccolo di Pietro, that I reproduce in Vol. IV (3). The forms, however, are somewhat different, they are rounder and the draperies describe a more Gothic line, reminiscent to a certain degree of those in Jacobello's pictures. It might be that this is a youthful work of Jacobello, influenced consequently at that time by Niccolo di Pietro, but this seems all the same rather doubtful.

(1) *Testi*, loc. cit.

(2) *Testi*, op. cit., p. 399; *Rassegna Marchigiana*, I, 1922, p. 113.

(3) Vol. IV, fig. 37. The little dove and the clouds in the picture in Berlin above are naturally later additions.



Fig. 225. Jacobello del Fiore, Madonna. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, U.S.A.

In order to trace the development of Jacobello's art, I think we should base ourselves on the increase of the influence of Gentile da Fabriano, which, at the beginning of his career, is naturally absent, since the earliest mention of him — 1401 — is seven years prior to our first meeting with Gentile in the city of the Lagoon. It should not be forgotten that both these artists belonged to the same artistic movement, so that without admitting Gentile's domination, certain mutual resemblances can be explained.

Certainly from the hand of Jacobello and deriving sooner from the transformation of 14th century art than from an acquaintance with the master of Fabriano's manner, is a Madonna crowned and clad in a beautiful mantle, in the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, U. S. A.; the Virgin is depicted offering an apple to the Child, but He has fallen asleep on His Mother's knee (fig. 225). Two little angelic musicians, like statuettes, adorn the arms of the throne; five other angels, two of them adding precious stones to the Madonna's crown, are seen behind and above the throne (¹).

A certain Trecentesque rigidity and heaviness of form characterize this, the first period of Jacobello's activity. The same features are noticeable in another panel of the Virgin and Child, which belongs to Prince Fabrizio Massimo, Rome. The figures are again placed in a flowery field; in this case the Madonna is shown reading to the little Jesus, Who once more is portrayed asleep, lying in a very natural position. His head resting on His folded arms (fig. 226).

Exactly the same type of Madonna is found in another picture, in a private collection, of a half-length figure of the Virgin with the Child, Who, awake this time, is represented sucking His finger (fig. 227). The Madonna is attired in a richly adorned mantle. Closely resembling this panel is that, unfortunately badly damaged, in the Correr Museum, Venice. The Virgin is depicted suckling the Child, Who has again fallen asleep on her shoulder (fig. 228). This panel bears a long inscription, which finishes with

(¹) *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1916, p. 121. Fogg Art Museum, Collection of Mediaeval and Renaissance Paintings, Cambridge (U. S. A.), 1919, p. 215. Mr. Perkins thinks it possible, that the picture, which, when he wrote, belonged to Mr. Arthur Sacks, New York, is by an assistant of Jacobello.



Fig. 226. Jacobello del Fiore, Madonna and sleeping Child, Massimo Collection, Rome.

the words: "*Jacobellus d: flor. pinxif*". Again the Virgin's cloak shows a large flowered pattern.

In spite of its obvious resemblances to the foregoing group of pictures, I think that this panel is a production of the transition.

The outline of the Virgin seems to be inspired by that of Gentile's figures, and in the draperies there is a calligraphic effect which appears here for the first time. These factors are noticeable in a mediocre painting of the Madonna, in the Museum of Budapest; she is shown sitting in a field, holding the Child, Who has fallen asleep in her lap, His head resting on His arm ⁽¹⁾, and also in the polyptych by Jacobello in Teramo, formerly in the museum, now in the sacristy of the church of S. Agostino (figs. 229 and 230) ⁽²⁾. The latter represents in the centre the Coronation of the Virgin; the two principal figures are shown on the same Gothic throne in the midst of angels, the Saviour placing a crown on His Mother's head. The town of Teramo and two groups of adorers are depicted below. The signature: "*Jacobell de Flore pincit*" is inscribed to the right ⁽³⁾. Above, the dead Saviour is seen between two saints, forming a niche. Three half-length figures of saints, the four Evangelists, St. Monica and St. Catherine of Alexandria adorn the lateral panels above, while to either side of the central panel are three full-length figures of saints, among whom can be recognized SS. Augustine, Jerome, Nicholas of Tolentino and two holy bishops. Old Testament personages are portrayed in the pinnacles ⁽⁴⁾.

In the central figures and in those of the standing saints, I think that Gentile's influence, although still comparatively feeble, is, none the less, indisputable.

The half-length figures, however, still bear the stamp of 14th century art. The St. Monica of this picture and the Virgin of the Massimo collection show a striking resemblance to one another.

It is particularly with the polyptych of Teramo, as Mr. Planiscig remarks ⁽⁵⁾, that the centre and one wing of a triptych in

(1) Attributed to Jacobello by *A. Venturi*, *Stor. dell' arte italiana*, VII¹, p. 298, who reproduces it, fig. 167. Reprod. also in *Testi*, op. cit., II, pp. 126, 127.

(2) I see no reason to date this picture as late as 1432 as several writers have done.

(3) *L. Testi*, op. cit., makes a slight mistake in transcribing the signature. At least nowadays there is no trace of the word *Teramum* or of "*hi . . . de . . . d . . .*" The name of the town, however, is mentioned in the inscription held by St. Monica.

(4) Solomon, Abraham, Moses, Daniel, Jacob and David.

(5) *Planiscig*, op. cit.



Fig. 227. Jacobello del Fiore, Madonna. Private Collection.

the Lederer collection, Vienna, correspond. Here we see the Virgin and Child and two saints on the central panel and two other saints, one above the other on the wing. The work is signed: "*Jaco. Belii de Fiore*".



Fig. 228. Jacobello del Fiore, Madonna. Correr Museum, Venice.

Photo Ist. Ital. Arte Grafiche.

There is little to be said with regard to the lion of St. Mark in the Palace of the Doges. The winged beast is depicted in a rocky landscape; he holds an open book and a coat of arms is seen at



Fig 229. Jacobello del Fiore, altar-piece. S. Agostino, Teramo.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. I-str.

his feet. The signature reads "*MCCCCXV die primo Maii Jacobellus de Flore Pinsit*".

An increase of Gentile's influence is obvious in the panel of Justice between two archangels, originating from the Palace of the Doges, now in the Accademia of Venice (no. 15) (figs. 231 and

232). Justice, with her emblems, is represented seated between two lions; to one side St. Michael, clad in a magnificent coat of mail, and holding the allegorical balance, slays the dragon, while to the other side St. Gabriel advances much in the same attitude as in scenes of the Annunciation. Near either figure there is a long



Fig. 230. Detail of fig. 229.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

inscription and to the left, in the background of the central panel we see the signature: "*Jacobelles de Flore pinxit 1421*". The calligraphic effect of the draperies is markedly Gothic as is also the attitude of St. Michael. Further the faces have lost all trace of a 14th century character; they are fuller, fairly realistic and comely according to the conceptions of the Renaissance. The hands have undergone a similar transformation.

Several pictures in private collections can be classified with this panel. Firstly there is a picture of the Virgin, crowned, sitting lowly among some trees, giving a reading lesson to the Child, Who, clothed in a little garment with the border slashed accor-

ding to the fashion of the day, stands near His Mother's knee. This painting which several years ago was in a private collection in Rome, seems to be a few years earlier than the panel of 1421 (fig. 233).

One of Jacobello's finest works, which is also privately owned, is a Madonna seated on cushions in a flowery field; the Child Jesus, Who stands on His Mother's knee smells a flower and grasps a little bird.

To a somewhat later stage can be assigned a large panel of the Virgin on a very ornate and architectural throne, from either side of which looks a little angel, which I saw also some years ago in a private collection. It might even be that this panel was executed after the Coronation of the Virgin, probably of 1432,

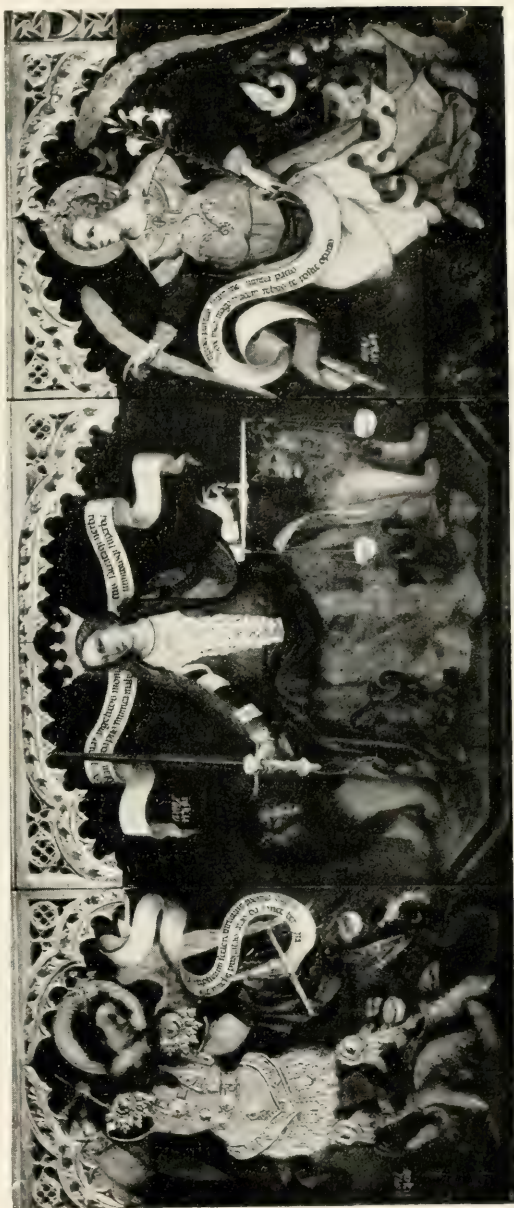


Fig. 231. Jacobello del Fiore, Justice between the Archangels Michael and Gabriel. Gallery, Venice.

Photo Alinari.

which was transferred from Ceneda to the Gallery of Venice (No. 1) (fig. 234); in any case these last works show us Jacobello as a faithful follower of Gentile. The idea was borrowed from the Coronation of the Virgin that Guariento painted in the large hall of the Palace of the Doges. Around the Gothic throne, on which the Virgin Mary and Our Lord are seated, is a host of angels, accompanied by two rows of saints and other angelic figures. The four Evangelists with some angels are depicted on the base of the throne, while still lower we see a little group of saints to either side and the kneeling donor, a bishop.

The date 1436 and the signature "*Jachomello de Flor pinse*" is found on a picture in three parts in the Gallery of Venice (No. 13), which should possibly be identified with the Madonna of 1434 or 1436 of the Manfrin collection; the gallery acquired the picture with the Molin bequest. Recently compiled catalogues have pronounced the signature to be a forgery, but to me, however, it seems original. Anyhow, I am convinced that it is a work by Jacobello, although this too is sometimes called in question (¹). In fact, Cavalcaselle is the last to cite it as a production of Jacobello's. In the centre is depicted the Madonna della Misericordia, standing in a flowery field; the Infant Christ is shown in a mandorla against her and this discreet allusion of very ancient origin to the Immaculate Conception, as well as the fact that only female figures are protected under her mantle, leads us to believe that this image of the Virgin was invoked in cases of sterility. The Annunciation is represented in the medallions above and the two SS. John adorn the lateral panels (fig. 235). The signature is inscribed under the feet of the Baptist.

Gentile's influence is manifest here not only in the appearance of the Virgin but also in the markedly calligraphic effects in the drapery of the two saints. If the date, 1436, be exact, the picture was executed nine years after the death of Gentile, whose influence still dominates this creation. The pronounced Gothicism, evident in this picture, seems all the same probably the result of

(¹) E.g. by *L. Serra*, *Catalogo della R. Galleria di Venezia*, Venice, 1914, p. 9. *Catalogo della R. Galleria della Accademia di Venezia a cura della Direzione*, Bologna, 1924, p. 13. In both cases the picture is qualified as unknown Venetian, the former places it in the first half of the 15th century, the latter assigns it to the 14th century.



Fig. 232. Detail of fig. 231.

Photo Andersen.

the evolution in this direction, which we have already observed. Signor L. Venturi⁽¹⁾ mentions a Madonna in the Richter collection, London ⁽²⁾, now in the Cagnola collection, Milan, and the altar-

⁽¹⁾ L. Venturi, *Le origini della pittura veneziana*, Venice, 1906, p. 84.

⁽²⁾ C. Rizzi, *Emporium*, 1903.

piece at Serravalle⁽¹⁾. Apart from the panel in the Cagnola collection, which I do not think is by Jacobello and with which I shall deal later on, I have not a sufficient knowledge of the other paintings to give them their chronological place in Jacobello's works.

Mr. Planiscig attributes still to Jacobello the picture of the legend of Ottavianus Augustus in the Gallery of Strasbourg, which bears the signature of Maestro Paolo and his son and the date 1358. This critic considers the signature to be false. I have already (Vol IV, p. 14) expressed some doubt regarding the authorship of this work and it is very evident that our knowledge of the signed panel in the Lederer collection makes the attribution of this picture to Jacobello more or less feasible. Mr. Planiscig hesitatingly ascribes to Jacobello also a half-length figure of the Madonna in the Figdor collection, Vienna, which, however, I believe to be a production of The Marches.

Sansovino speaks of an altar-piece of St. Peter the Martyr to the left of the main entrance to the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, which was entirely repainted by Titian⁽²⁾.

From Boschini⁽³⁾ we gather that there was another painting of a lion in the tribunal "della biastema", which must have closely resembled that in the Palace of the Doges. Formerly a painting of St. Michael and the dragon in the Museum of Berlin (No. 1155) was attributed to Jacobello, but already Cavalcaselle associated it with the school of Murano, to which school it is now ascribed. I do not know what has become of the figures of SS. Louis and Jerome in the Barker collection, nor of the panels of SS. James, George, Dominic and Nicholas in the Bromley collection, both in London.

It is impossible to say in its present repainted condition, what the original appearance of a half-length figure of the Madonna with the Child in the Arsenal of Venice, might have been. The work has certainly something of the type of Jacobello's Madonnas. I think we should assign to his school a Madonna, adoring the Child lying on her knee, with a row

(1) *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, op. cit., p. 7, speak of frescoes in the hospital of Serravalle, portraying the Evangelists and Fathers of the Church in the ceiling, saints, scenes from the legends of SS. Lawrence and Mark, the Crucifixion and other representations.

(2) Titian's painting was burnt, but a copy of it exists in the same church.

(3) *Boschini*, *Le ricche miniere della pittura veneziana*, Venice, 1674, p. 49.



Fig. 233. Jacobello del Fiore, the Virgin giving a reading-lesson to her Son. Private Collection.

of angels behind the throne, in the Brera Gallery, Milan (193) ⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Of the pictures still wrongly attributed to Jacobello, I shall cite: the polyptych by the Master of the Pirano altar-piece, a work of the 14th century

Jacobello was rather severely judged by Sansovino and Vasari, who were of the opinion that he worked after the Greek, that is to say, the Byzantine manner. Lanzi on the contrary, held that few artists of his time equalled him. This is certainly an exaggeration; but neither have Sansovino and Vasari, with whom Cavalcaselle was more or less in accordance, understood the exact place that Jacobello occupied in the evolution of Venetian painting. Everything that recalled the artists of previous generations was, in their idea, Byzantine.

Jacobello was a painter of the transition in Venice, that is to say in a centre where, on account of its geographical situation, the Byzantine manner had taken a very firm hold and where the evolution towards more emancipated forms seems for that reason to have been impeded. Even in the art of the first adherents of the Gothic movement of the beginning of the 15th century, this is evident. In Jacobello's paintings there are certain archaisms of the 14th century, which are generally absent in the works of his contemporaries of other local schools. This is particularly obvious at the beginning of his career, because, once under Gentile's influence, Jacobello created works which, although not of very fine quality, do not present a more primitive appearance than the majority of paintings executed in this generation.

I am not of the opinion that Michele Giambono⁽¹⁾ was a faithful pupil of Jacobello; on the contrary, I think his style can be traced to a more German, let us say Tyrolese origin, through artists such as Stefano da Verona. Moreover, as he belonged to a family of painters, his father and grand-father both following this profession, it is not likely that he studied with Jacobello.

in the Museum of Lecce (v. Vol. IV, p. 23); a Madonna and six scenes from the Life of Christ, with the false signature of Jacobello and the date 1430, in the Lochis Gallery, Bergamo (*G. Frizzoni*, *Le Gallerie dell' Accademia Carrara in Bergamo*, Bergamo, 1907, p. 41); St. Crisogono on horseback, a work of Giambono, in the church of SS. Gervasio e Protasio, Venice, concerning the attribution of which there has been much controversy; a Madonna of the Venetian school which formed No. 131 of the Gozzadini Sale, held in Bologna; a polyptych from S. Ubaldo, Pesaro, now in the gallery (v. Vol. IV, p. 86).

⁽¹⁾ *G. Ludwig und P. Paoletti*, *Repert. f. Kunstwiss.*, 1899, p. 433; 1900, p. 285. *B. Berenson*, *The Study and Criticism of Italian Art*, I, London, 1912, p. 93. *G. Fiocco*, *Michele Giambono*, Venezia, I, Milan-Rome, 1920, p. 206. *The Same*, *Due Madonne di Giambono*, Dedalo, V, 1924, p. 443. *Paoletti* in *Thieme-Becker's Künstler Lexikon*, IV, p. 318.

In January 1391 there is record of a "*quondam Maestro Zambon*", a painter of Treviso, and as Michele's father, also a painter, was called Taddeo di Giovanni Bono, it is likely that the former, who was active in Treviso, was Michele's grand-father⁽¹⁾.

In 1420 Michele is mentioned as the husband of a "Lena" (Helen), the daughter of a certain Jacobello — perhaps Jacobello



Fig. 234. Jacobello del Fiore, the Coronation of the Virgin. Accademia, Venice.

Photo Alinari

del Fiore, and established as painter in the parish of S. Angelo in Venice. In 1422, however, we find him living in the quarter of

⁽¹⁾ The documents concerning Giambono have been published several times and will be found in their entirety, among others, in *G. Fiocco*, op. cit., (Venezia) and in *L. Testi*, op. cit., II, p. 13. Some are given by *Paoletti*, op. cit., p. 13 and *Ludwig*, op. cit., p. 106. There was another painter of the name of Gregorio Bono, who is recorded between 1413 and 1418, when he was painter to the court of Amedeo VII of Savoy. *Dufour et Rabut*, *Les peintres et les peintures en Savoie*, Mem. et Doc. publ. p. la Soc. Savoisienne d'hist. et d'arch., XII, p. 102. *Testi*, op. cit., II, p. 62. There were several painters of this name active in Murano between 1446 and 1489. *Testi*, op. cit., II, p. 63.

S. Gregorio. There is no further evidence concerning him until 1440 when the ecclesiastical and civil authorities of SS. Antonio e Daniele in Friuli give the order to him and to Paolo d'Amadeo, sculptor in wood, both inhabiting the S. Apollinare quarter, to execute within eight months the carved and gilded wooden altarpiece which is still preserved there⁽¹⁾. On September 3rd 1443 he is named as arbiter together with Francesco — very probably Francesco dei Franceschi — with whom we shall deal later on. Two weeks later he figures as witness and then he is again living in the S. Gregorio quarter. The following year when, together with the painter Lorenzo da Cataro, he gives evidence, he inhabits the S. Gimignano district. In 1446, when he settled part of his property on his wife, his father, the late Thadeus, painter of the S. Gregorio quarter and son of Johanne Bono, is mentioned. In 1447 the church of St. Agnese orders a copy of the "Paradiso", painted for the church of S. Pantaleone two years before; the picture, which has to be one foot larger than the original, must be finished before Easter 1448; the painter is still living in the S. Gregorio quarter. Shortly after he makes a contract with Paolo d'Amadeo for the carved wooden frame, which is to cost 33 ducats. In 1449 his home is in the S. Marco quarter but in 1451 he is back again in that of S. Gregorio. In this document there is reference made to his aunt Guglielma and to his uncles Michele, Niccolo and Giovanni. In 1453 he is called as expert, together with Jacopo Moranzone, with regard to an agreement between Donatello and Gianantonio, son of Gattamelata, concerning a statue of the latter⁽²⁾.

In 1459 he remarries; his second wife is Caterina, daughter of Maffeo Rosso. In 1462 Giambono witnesses the drawing up of an act, but in September of the same year his wife, inhabiting the quarter of S. Niccolo, is recorded as a widow.

The constant references in the documents, alongside other addresses, to the S. Gregorio quarter as indication of his habitation, where besides his father also lived, makes it likely that he had a studio as well as a private house, one of which must have

(1) v. *Joppi*, Di alcune opere d'arte in S. Daniele del Friuli, Arch. Venet., XXXI, 1886, p. 463.

(2) *C. Milanese*, Della statue equestra di Erasmo da Narni, Arch. Stor. Ital. 1855, II, p. 45.



Fig. 235. Jacobello del Fiore, Madonna and saints, 1436. Gallery, Venice.

Photo Anderson.

been in the S. Gregorio district, probably the former, because, as we saw, his widow did not live there.

Giambono may have had a son or at least some more distant descendants who followed the same calling, because we find painters of the name of "Zambon" until the year 1546 ⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *Testi*, op. cit., p. 61.

We have a considerable number of paintings by Giambono but unfortunately there are but few which can be dated with certainty. There are, however, one or two. The Coronation of the Virgin or 1448, for example, still exists and is now preserved in the Accademia of Venice. The figure of St. Chrisogonus, that we find in the church of SS. Gervasio e Protasio is not likely prior to 1448, the year of the beatification of St. Bernardine of Siena or to 1450, the date of his canonisation, because the shield of the holy knight is adorned with the seal of St. Benardine. Lastly, the mosaics in the chapel of the Mascoli in S. Marco must have been executed shortly after 1430, the date at which this chapel was built.

Forms closely approaching those of Gentile da Fabriano are found in a considerable number of Giambono's works and among them I include the mosaics of the Mascoli chapel, dating as we have just seen, from after 1430 ⁽¹⁾. This might perhaps give us some indication with regard to the chronology of the artist's works. For considering that Gentile died, it will be remembered, in 1427 and that in all probability Giambono must have come in contact with him, this must have happened at the beginning of his career.

I shall certainly not attempt to make a precise chronological classification of all his works; however, I think that Gentile was the master who dominated the outset of Giambono's activity, the first mention of which is made seven years before Gentile's death and that this influence lasted until at least after 1430 is proved by the mosaics, which have just been mentioned. As this mosaic decoration is the only work of this group which is signed, and more or less datable, I shall begin by dealing with this production ⁽²⁾.

It is well known that attempts have been made to ascribe two of the mosaics in the Mascoli chapel to other artists. The Death of the Virgin has been attributed by Thode to Andrea del Castagno ⁽³⁾ and by A. Venturi to Mantegna ⁽⁴⁾. Testi, on the other hand, is of the opinion that all these mosaics are by Giambono

⁽¹⁾ In any case prior to 1449 v. *Testi*, op. cit., II, p. 39.

⁽²⁾ *G. Ludwig e P. Molmenti*, Vittore Carpaccio, Milan, 1906, p. 220.

⁽³⁾ *H. Thode*, Andrea Castagno in Venedig, Festschrift für Otto Bendorf, Vienna, 1898. In connexion with this v. also *C. Gamba*, Un opera ignoto di Andrea del Castagno: il San Teodoro di Venezia, Dedalo, IV, 1923-24, p. 173.

⁽⁴⁾ *A. Venturi*, Stor. dell' arte ital., VII³, p. 99, which attribution is accepted by Frizzoni.



Fig. 236. Giambono, mosaic, the Nativity of the Virgin. S. Marco, Venice.

Photo Anderson.

and probably a helper. It has often been thought that the Visitation is by Jacopo Bellini⁽⁵⁾, or at least, that he collaborated in the execution of this scene⁽⁶⁾. The solution of this problem, which has been the cause of much controversy, does not seem to me very difficult, it is that the two mosaics in question are in part

⁽⁵⁾ *Thode*, op. cit.

⁽⁶⁾ *L. Venturi*, op. cit., p. 93. *Borenius*, note on *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, I, p. 14. *Fiocco*, op. cit. (Venezia).

from the hand of Giambono and in part the work of some other artist: moreover, L. Venturi and Fiocco have recently propounded this hypothesis. Further I think, but concerning this the general opinion is not unanimous, that there must have been a lapse of time between Giambono's commencement of this work and its termination by another.

The arrangement of the mosaics is the following: the vaults of the chapel are decorated with medallions of the half-length figures of the Virgin, Isaac, and David, against a background adorned with garlands; the Annunciation is depicted on the wall by the window, with God the Father appearing above, he sends forth the dove towards the Virgin, who sits reading, while the angel kneels to the other side. Next to this, we see the Nativity of the Virgin and her Presentation in the Temple together, each of the events taking place in an elaborate and fantastic Gothic building.

The former is a domestic scene; it is the moment of the child's first bath; some neighbours, one carrying a present of dainties, approach, a servant spins, while St. Joachim stands near by. A peacock — the bird that Stefano and Pisanello were so fond of representing — is seen perched on the balcony of the first floor (fig. 236).

The adjacent scene shows a church towards which the child Virgin ascending the steps, in this case only two, approaches. She is accompanied by her parents and two women, one of whom carries a dove. A priest receives the holy child, while another, his chin resting on his hand, seems lost in thought. At the foot of this part we read: "*Michael Canbono venetus fecit*" (fig. 237).

It appears to me indisputable that the curious, elongated forms, with calligraphic effects and slightly grimacing faces of these two scenes, are from the same hand as the group of disciples to the right, in the scene of the Death of the Virgin (fig. 238) and all the five figures in the Visitation. That the former of these two mosaics is not entirely by Giambono can be seen at a glance, not only on account of the difference of style, but also because a very distinct line of demarcation separates that part which was executed by Giambono from the rest of the scene. This line is seen clearly above their heads and between the fourth and fifth figures to the right.

The word "*fecit*", which we see in this angle, is sufficient for us to surmise that this is but a fragment of the signature, the rest of



Fig. 237. Giambono, mosaic, the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple. S. Marco, Venice.

Photo Anderson.

which is missing, and it is likely that originally the entire mosaic was made by Giambono, because he certainly would not have signed the work before having finished it. No doubt, his name appeared in the opposite angle; moreover it is very obvious that the characters of the word "*fecit*" are identical to those of Giambono's signature on the other mosaic.

Similar dividing lines are seen also in the other mosaic around the two figures embracing one another in the centre, the old man

sitting to the right, and the man and woman, who seem to be followed by another female figure, to the left. Both mosaics in their actual condition consequently show but fragments of Giambono's work, apparently placed in mosaics of more recent date. It is possible that the originals fell into ruin and were restored, or that they no longer pleased the public or again that Giambono himself never finished them; the last hypothesis is not likely on account of the presence of a fragment of the signature. Whatever be the true version, it cannot be denied that the pieces which are not from his hand, are of considerably later date. The style of the architecture with its decorations borrowed from classical art, belongs to the Paduan style of the second half of the 15th century, after the activity of Mantegna. Some sketches for the architecture are found in a room in S. Marco, where the mosaic-workers prepared their materials ⁽¹⁾. The composition, and even the details of the mosaic of the Death of the Virgin correspond with those of the picture of the same subject by Mantegna in the Prado, Madrid, but there is too much difference with the art of this great master to assign this work to him.

The points in which these mosaics approach the art of Gentile becomes more evident if we compare them with the paintings which I believe to be executed in the same manner; in them we notice the same elongated calligraphic forms which are somewhat masked by the mosaic technique.

The work in which Gentile's influence is very obvious is the considerably damaged polyptych from the sanctuary of Ponte Metauro, now in the Congregazione di Carita at Fano, in which the Virgin, crowned, is depicted on a Gothic throne, holding the Child, Who bestows a blessing with one hand and carries roses in the other, erect on her knee, while the figures of SS. John the Baptist, Paul, Peter, James, George and Jerome are represented on the lateral panels. The elegance of Gentile's art, although shown in a clumsier form, is evident in these figures. A better imitation of Gentile's style is seen in paintings of a holy pope (fig. 239) and a saintly bishop, in the Museum of Padua ⁽²⁾, a St.

⁽¹⁾ Reprod. by *Fiocco*, op. cit. (Venezia), who believes them to be by Jacopo Bellini.

⁽²⁾ According to Signor *Fiocco* a picture of SS. Peter and Paul, in the Museum of Bonn, which I cannot recall, resembles these figures.



Fig. 238. Giambono, mosaic, the Death of the Virgin. S. Marco, Venice.

Photo Anderson.

Mark in the Mond collection, London ⁽¹⁾, and a small picture of a holy bishop in the Museum of Padua ⁽²⁾.

The very fine draughtsmanship of Gentile greatly influenced Giambono when he executed the two pictures of the dead Christ arising from His tomb, one of which, showing the false signature of Mantegna, is in the Civic Museum of Padua (fig. 240), and the other in the Metropolitan Museum, New York ⁽³⁾. Another work

⁽¹⁾ *F. P. Richter*, Catalogue of the Mond Collection, London, 1910, p. 54.

⁽²⁾ *Fiocco*, op. cit. (Dedalo), p. 443.

⁽³⁾ Signor *Testi* calls the picture in Padua, a copy of that in New York



Fig. 239. Giambono, a holy pope. Civic Museum, Padua.

Photo Ist. Ital. Arte Grafiche.

of great refinement is the handkerchief of St. Veronica, bearing the features of the dead Christ, in the Malaspina Gallery of Pavia (fig. 241); it shows the false signature of Carlo Crivelli, to whom it was frequently attributed until Signor Fiocco rightly assigned it to Giambono.

After the influence of Gentile, which, for chronological reasons seems to have been the first felt by Giambono, comes that of the painters of Verona. A work in which both these artistic movements are united is the polyptych, originating from the church of S. Giacomo alla Giudecca⁽¹⁾, now in the Gallery of Venice (No. 5), showing in the centre St. James — and not the Saviour as has frequently been thought — between St. John the Evangelist, a holy monk, with an open book, perhaps St. Benedict or the Blessed Filippo Benizzi⁽²⁾, St. George

(¹) C. C. McN. Rushforth, Two Pictures by Giambono, *Burlington Magazine*, XX, 1911-12, p. 100.

(²) The figure has no halo; he has wrongly been taken for St. Bernardine of Siena which, had it been correct, would have dated the polyptych from not before about 1450.



Fig. 240. Giambono, the dead Saviour, Museum, Padua.

Photo Alinari.

crushing the dragon under his feet and St. Louis of Toulouse (fig. 242). The signature: "*Michael Cambono pinxit*" is inscribed on the central panel.



Fig. 241. Giambono, the head of Christ on St. Veronica's handkerchief.
Malaspina Gallery, Pavia.

Photo Anderson.

The artistic principles borrowed from Gentile are seen throughout the altar-piece, moreover the St. George here and that of Fano closely resemble one another. Nevertheless, we notice here the beginning of the infiltration of Veronese elements into the master's art; the face of the latter saint and that of St. Louis are



Fig. 242. Giambono, St. James and other saints. Gallery, Venice.

Photo Anderson

rather German in appearance, similar to those we find for example in the polyptych by Badile in Verona. We see this characteristic again in the panel of the archangel Michael, magnificently attired, holding a globe, on which a reliquary is placed; the dragon is trampled under foot, while two little angels above carry the balance and the sword (fig. 243). This picture, which now belongs to Mr. Berenson of Sittignano, was formerly, when Cavalcaselle



Fig. 243. Giambono, the Archangel Michael. Berenson Collection, Settignano.



Fig. 244. Giambono, Madonna. Volterra Galleries, Florence.

saw it and already attributed it to Giambono, the property of Marquis Dondi dall' Orlogio in Padua⁽¹⁾. This attribution has not been unanimously accepted. At one time it was ascribed to Nerito, who is said to be a pupil of Gentile da Fabriano, but by whom we have no authentic works⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *Rushforth*, op. cit.

⁽²⁾ *Fiocco*, op. cit. (Venezia), p. 211¹.



Fig. 245. Giambono, Madonna. Palazzo Venezia, Rome.

Gentile's influence is very evident also in a half-length figure of the Virgin, who affectionately clasps the Child to her breast and holds a rose, which I saw recently for sale, first in Rome (¹), then in Florence (fig. 244).

(¹) *Fiocco*, op. cit. (Dedalo), p. 446.



Fig. 246. Giambono, Madonna. Beata Giovanna church, Bassano.

Photo Alinari.

This picture leads the way to a little group of Madonnas, which show the Child Jesus with a round head and not very pronounced features as He is portrayed by the artists of the Veronese school, in particular by Badile, and the Gothic forms, more robust than Gentile's, seem to originate from the same source. Chronological arguments and certain resemblances between the works



Fig. 247. Giambono, the Coronation of the Virgin, Gallery, Venice.

of this group and those which I believe to belong to the master's last manner, make us think that Giambono became acquainted with the Veronese style during an intermediate stage in his career, which must have set in shortly after 1430.

Of the Madonnas to which I refer, there is one signed. In Cavalcaselle's day it was in the collection of Count Riva of Padua, later it belonged to Sir F. Leighton and afterwards to



Fig. 248. Giambono, St. Chrisogonus. SS. Gervasio e Protasio, Venice.

Photo Alinari.

Mrs. Hertz, who left it to the National Gallery in Rome and now, I believe, its ultimate destiny is to be the museum which is being formed in the Palazzo Venezia. Against a background, adorned with large flowers, is depicted the half-length figure of the Virgin,

carrying the Child, Who turns towards a little bird (fig. 245).

A Madonna, which was for sale, first in Venice⁽¹⁾, then in London⁽²⁾, is almost identical, but the figures are reversed; here the Virgin suckles the Child and the beautiful brocade background is missing. The latter, however, is shown in another panel, in the Correr Museum, Venice (plate V) in which the Virgin is crowned and the Child is again seen with a little bird. This picture is reminiscent of the Madonna by Stefano da Verona, which was quite recently acquired by the Museum in the Palazzo Venezia. Antonio Vivarini, in his turn, seems to have borrowed this type of Madonna from Giambono. A little Madonna, suckling the Child, from the Monga collection, Verona, now in the gallery of that town and another half-length figure of the Virgin, tenderly clasping the Child to her breast, in the church of the Beata Giovanna in Bassano (fig. 246), also show the same resemblance to the productions of the school of Verona. Lastly, similar morphological types are found in a half-length figure of St. Stephen, holding a book, in the ex-collection of Signor Frizzoni in Milan.

In what I believe to be Giambono's last manner, the Gothic effects have considerably diminished and the productions of this period, during which he perhaps came under the influence of Jacopo Bellini and Antonio Vivarini, bear a greater resemblance to the paintings of the Italian Renaissance of the 15th century. If Giambono is in any way responsible for the models of the statues of the sculptured altar-piece in SS. Antonio e Daniele in Friuli, which he and Paolo d'Amadeo were requested to make in 1440, it must be admitted that at this moment Gothicism, although considerably lessened, was not yet strange to his art. It is seen only in a very feeble degree in the Coronation of the Virgin in the Gallery of Venice (fig. 247), which he was charged to copy from the picture of this subject by Antonio Vivarini and Giovanni d'Allemagna in S. Pantaleone. It is perhaps this which accounts for the resemblance in Giambono's later works to Vivarini's manner, to which I have just referred. The picture is not a very faithful copy, moreover, it is considerably restored and bears the false sig-

⁽¹⁾ *Fiocco*, op. cit. (Dedalo), p. 443.

⁽²⁾ *Burlington Magazine*, Nov. 1925, advertisement.

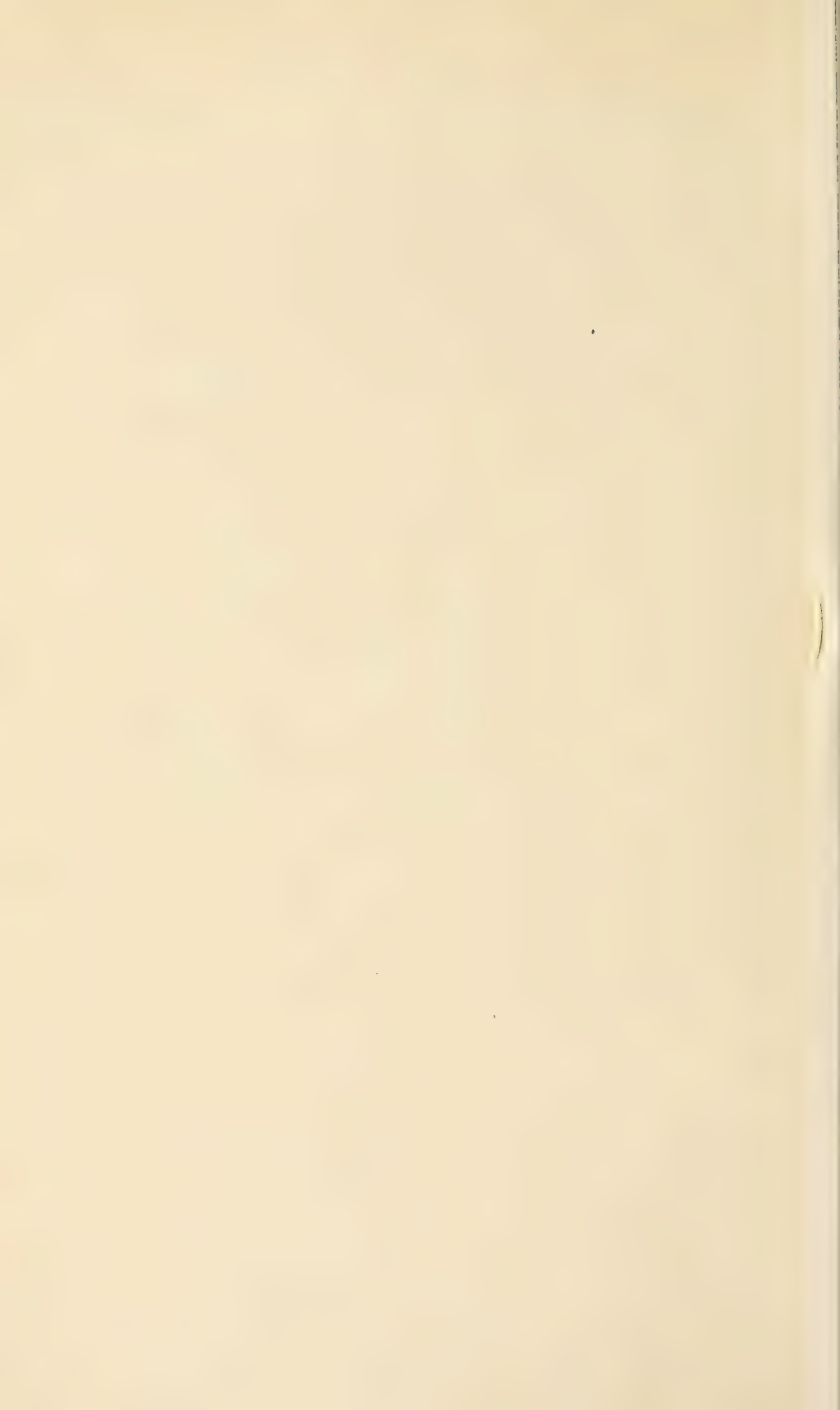
⁽³⁾ Attributed to Jacopo Bellini by *G. Fogolari*, *Boll. dell Mus. Civ. di Bassano*, 1903, p. 73, which attribution is accepted by *C. Ricci* in his recension of *Fogolari's* article in *L'Arte*, 1905, p. 75.



MADONNA AND CHILD

By Michele Giambono, Civic Museum, Venice.

Photo Filippi.



nature : "*Joannes et Antonius de Muriano. F. MCDXL*".

A large portion of the upper part of the picture is hidden under a restoration representing clouds. There remains but the large dome-shaped throne, on which the Saviour is shown, crowning the Virgin, while God the Father is depicted behind. Three rows of saints descend towards the centre of the painting, where a group of angels carry the symbols of the Passion. The four Evangelists, with their emblems, are seated in the centre below and behind them the four Doctors of the Church are seen. The grouping, the types and the attitudes of the different figures which compose the picture, vary a good deal from those of the model.



Fig. 249. Giambono, Madonna, Museum in the Ca d'Oro, Venice.

Photo Filippi.

Another work of this period, which can be approximatively

dated, is the figure of St. Chrisogonus on horse-back, in the church of SS. Gervasio e Protasio (fig. 248), since, as I said, the seal of St. Bernardine of Siena is portrayed on the shield with which the saint screens his chest. St. Bernardine was canonized in 1450 and the representation of his seal was very frequent, particularly after that date; it is rarely seen much before 1445. The horse is depicted in a field against a background of trees; St. Chrisogonus holds a lance with a flying banner; a beautiful flowered brocade, similar to those backgrounding certain of the Madonnas, covers his body and streams behind him. The shape of the head and the features are a little heavy if we compare them with his earlier works made under the Veronese influence, but, none the less, the type is the same.

In the G. L. collection of drawings, which was sold in London in May 1924, there was a pen and bistre sketch (No. 81) of a knight on horseback, which bore a close resemblance to this picture. It was assigned to Giambono and I think it quite possible that this attribution is correct.

Although executed in a somewhat different style and obviously under the influence of Antonio Vivarini, we find the same type as that of the Fano picture, in a Madonna in the Museum of Budapest. The Virgin is represented crowned, sitting on an elaborate Gothic throne, holding the Child, Who bestows a blessing and carries a rose, standing on her knee.

The same round faces and the less marked Gothic effects are found also in a crowned Madonna in the Franchetti collection, in the Ca d'Oro, Venice, in which the Child erect looks behind Him; the Virgin is attired in a rich flowered brocade (fig. 249). The influence of the Veronese school, however, is still very manifest in this picture, particularly in the appearance of the Child.

Dating probably from the same period is a Madonna, which I saw a good many years ago in a Roman collection, but of which the actual fate is unknown to me. The Virgin, garbed in beautiful brocade, is seen holding the Child, Who feeds a little bird; two small angels are depicted in the background above (fig. 250).

A large, somewhat repainted panel, in the Museum of Nîmes⁽¹⁾, is certainly a rather late work. The Virgin, on a monumental

(¹) There ascribed to the Byzantine school.



Fig. 250. Giambono, Madonna. Private Collection.

throne, backed with brocade, holds erect on her knee the Child Christ, Who places a ring on the finger of St. Catherine (fig. 251).

I should ascribe to Giambono's school a panel in the Gallery of Venice, showing the Madonna in rich raiment, covering the

Child on her knee with a veil (fig. 252); the figures of the Annunciation adorn the spandrels and the false signature of Gentile da Fabriano is inscribed below. Other school works are a half-length figure of the Madonna nursing the Child, in the Franchetti collection, in the Ca d'Oro, Venice, and in a private collection, a half-length figure of the Madonna, looking rather sadly at the Child, Who plays with her chin.

I do not think we can hold Giambono responsible for a Coronation of the Virgin in the Gallery of Rovigo, to which we shall return later on, nor for the Assumption of Mary Magdalene in the Museum of Berlin (No. 1154), a work by Antonio Vivarini, nor for the six scenes from the life of the Virgin, in the same museum (No. 1158), nor for the decoration of the cover of the Pala d'Oro in the museum of the basilica of S. Marco, Venice. A Madonna in the Fairfax Murray collection, that Mr. Berenson attributed to Giambono, is unknown to me ⁽¹⁾.

Sansovino informs us that Giambono painted pictures for the high-altar and for the altar of S. Augustine in the church of S. Alvigi. We shall discuss the picture of St. Mamas in the Gallery of Verona, which is sometimes ascribed to Giambono, when dealing with Francesco dei Franceschi. A panel of the Baptist in the Bardini Museum, Florence and a fragment of a polyptych, showing St. Christopher with the Child Christ on his shoulder, which I saw recently on the antique market, are works executed in Giambono's manner.

Giambono is a fascinating painter, but does not possess much individuality. Like many secondary artists, he quickly changed his manner according to the influences with which he came in contact, and his art lacks substance but possesses very much charm of line and sentiment.

Among the other Venetian painters, whose names have come down to us, I must cite Jacopo Moranzone, whom we have already come across in 1453, acting as expert with Giambono in the difference which arose between the son of Gattamelata and Donatello. His name appears in various deeds from 1431; in 1440 he finishes

(1) This picture, under the name of Stefano da Zevio, was shown at the Exhibition of Venetian art, held in the New Gallery, London, in 1895.



Fig. 251. Giambono, the mystic marriage of St. Catherine. Museum, Nîmes.

the sculptured altar, now lost, for S. Anastasia, Verona. Jacopo was chiefly a sculptor of wood; besides, in the act of 1453 he calls himself "*Jacomo Morenzon intaiador*" and does the same, but in different orthography in the deed of 1454 and in the signature on the altar-piece of 1440. The only painting that we possess from his hand, dates from 1441; two years later he carved an altar-piece for the Guantieri chapel in Sta. Maria della Scala in Verona. It is of interest to note that Mantegna appoints him procurator in a disagreement he had with a merchant in 1450. In 1467 his name appears in the will of his sister Pasqualina, along with that of his brother Gasparino, also a sculptor. He died before November 26th, 1469. There were at least eight artists of the Moranzone family active in the 15th century, chiefly as sculptors in stone and wood.

Vasari ⁽¹⁾ refers to him only as a painter. He calls him the rival of Jacobello and informs us that he worked much in Venice and in Lombardy and that, according to the Byzantine manner, he portrays his figures on the points of their feet. If Vasari's last statement be exact, he must have seen other paintings, besides the extant work, in which this peculiarity is not manifest. Sansovino speaks of only one Madonna by Moranzone, which was outside the choir in the church of Sta. Elena ⁽²⁾.

Moranzone does not seem to have painted very much. The only picture that has come down to us is now in the Gallery of Venice (No. 11); it is that of which Sansovino gives a very brief description. It is not only a Madonna, but a polyptych with the Virgin in a mandorla, carried heavenwards by six angels as central figure; SS. Helen, John the Baptist, Benedict and Elizabeth adorn the lateral panels (fig. 253). The signature has been effaced, but Zanetti reports it as having been: "*Giacomo Moranzone à lacira questo lavorie an Dni MCCCCXXXXP*" ⁽³⁾; then Cicogna tells us, that the picture was ordered by Elizabeth, mother of Brother Tommaso di Venezia ⁽⁴⁾.

This painting reveals Moranzone as a feeble and archaic imitator of Gentile. It was no doubt his work as wood carver, at

⁽¹⁾ *Vasari-Milanesi*, III, p. 635.

⁽²⁾ *Sansovino*, op. cit., p. 78^a.

⁽³⁾ *Zanetti*, op. cit., p. 492.

⁽⁴⁾ *Cicogna*, *Iscrizioni veneziani*, III, p. 354.



Fig. 252. School of Giambono, Madonna. Gallery, Venice.

Photo Filippi.

which he was more generally employed, that gives to his picture a certain unpleasing rigidity.

Donato di Giovanni Bragadin is of little importance to us, because there remains only one work by him and that one is very mediocre⁽¹⁾. We find him active from 1438 until October 30th 1473, the day of his death. In 1438 he painted a Baptism of Christ for the church of Sta. Marina in Venice⁽²⁾; on the 24th September 1440 a partnership between him and Jacopo Bellini is drawn up, but as the entry in the notary's register is erased, it very likely never came to anything. In 1451 his son, Giacomo, enters the "Scuola della Carita"⁽³⁾; in 1459 he paints the extant picture and in 1460 a polyptych for the church of S. Samuele⁽⁴⁾. In 1464 reference is made for the first time to Donato's son, Tommaso, also a painter, who appears again in 1468, 1472, 1483 and who died before 1524⁽⁵⁾. Donato's name is recorded in three documents of the year 1468.

The only work by him, that we possess, dates from 1459 and shows the lion of St. Mark, raising a paw on Holy Script, with a castle and the lagunes in the background, and to the sides the figures of SS. Jerome and Augustine. This picture, now exposed in the Palace of the Doges, comes from the "Sale dell' Avogaria"; it is signed "*Donatus Venetus annus 1459*" and shows us Donato as a reactionary artist, still under the influence of Gentile, who had died thirty years before, of Jacobello and also of Jacopo Bellini⁽⁶⁾.

Much more important than either Bragadin or Moranzone was Francesco dei or de' Franceschi, who is named for the first time in 1443, together with Giambono, as arbiter in a disagreement between a painter and sculptors of the Moranzone family. He appears in deeds of 1445, 1446 and 1456 as living in the St. Julian quarter; the date on the extant polyptych in the Museum of

(1) *G. Ludwig*, Jahrb. der K. Preus. Kunstsamml., XXIV, 1903; Beiheft, p. 32.

(2) *Sansovino*, op. cit., p. 12^a.

(3) *Sansovino*, op. cit., p. 78^a.

(4) *Sansovino*, op. cit., p. 46^a.

(5) His grandson Matteo, a gilder, is mentioned in a document of 1524.

(6) *Zanetti*, op. cit., pp. 22 and 23, partly led into error by Boschini, attributes to Donato Bragadin two pictures of the middle of the 16th century by Alvise Donati; one the Crucifixion, now No. 98 in the Gallery of Venice, the other, a Crucifixion, on the Island of St. Giorgio in Alga, v. *Testi*, op. cit., I, p. 427.

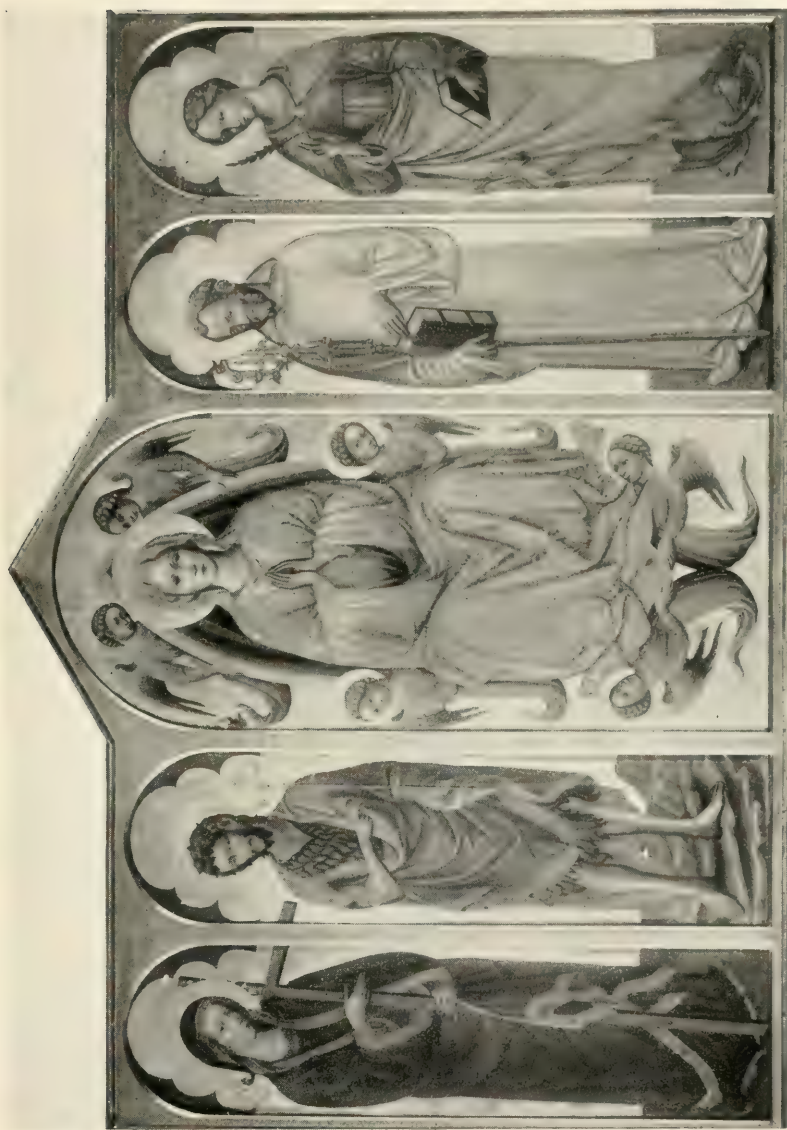


Fig. 253. Jacopo Moranzzone, the Assumption and saints. Gallery, Venice.

Photo Naya.

Padua is 1447. We gather from Sansovino, that in 1448 he executed a panel of SS. Jerome, Sebastian and Louis on the back wall of the choir in the church of S. Samuele; the same writer speaks of



Fig. 254. Francesco de' Franceschi, St. Peter.
Museum, Padua.

Photo Ist. Ital. Arte Grafiche.

a polyptych of St. Catherine and four other saints in the church of S. Giorgio in Alga and of a picture of St. Andrew, decorated by Gasparo Moranzone, in the church of S. Giobbe, all since lost⁽¹⁾. In a document of 1468, reference is made to a Francesco de' Franceschi, whom both Signor Moschetti and Herr Ludwig believe to be the painter⁽²⁾. Signor Testi, however, rejects the hypothesis⁽³⁾ and this perhaps is more prudent, consi-

⁽¹⁾ *Sansovini*, op. cit., pp. 46¹, 86^a, 57^a.

⁽²⁾ *A. Moschetti*, Un ancona di Francesco de' Franceschi, Boll. des Mus. Civ. di Padua, VII, 1904, No. 4. *G. Ludwig*, Jahrb. der K. Preuss. Kunstsamml., 1905, p. 158.

⁽³⁾ *Testi*, op. cit., II, p. 66.

dering that there is no mention of this Francesco being a painter, also on account of the lapse of twenty years since the last documentary evidence concerning him.

The polyptych in the Museum of Padua, which has been reconstructed by Signor Moschetti, originates from the church of S. Pietro and formerly passed as a work by Antonio and Bartolommeo Vivarini; once it bore the signature of the frame-maker and of the painter: "*1447 Franciscus Storibono incisit Franciscus de Franciscis pinxit*". According to the reconstruction made by Signor Moschetti, the central panel showed the figure of St. Peter (fig. 254), those to the left SS. Christopher (fig. 255) and Paul (fig. 256) and those to the right SS. John the Baptist and Michael. Higher up were the half-length figures of SS. Francesco, Mary Magdalene, Clare and Prosdocimus to the sides, with the Crucifixion between two adoring angels in the centre (fig. 257).

The painting is beautiful, executed in a grandiose style, and although the draughtsmanship is rather feeble, the decorative effect is very great. There is an obvious but naturally late influence of Gentile's



Fig. 255. Francesco de' Franceschi, St. Christopher. Museum, Padua.

Photo Ist. Ital. Arte Grafiche.



Fig. 256. Francesco de' Franceschi,
St. Paul. Museum. Padua.

Photo Ist. Ital. Arti Grafiche.

art which the master seems to have known through Giambono's works. Although the Gothic element is very noticeable, the style of these panels shows considerable development in the direction of the Renaissance. The painter must have been very familiar with Jacopo Bellini's works in particular.

A comparison between the Crucifixion above and another painting of the same subject in a private collection (fig. 258), leads me to ascribe the latter work to this artist; I should even say that this picture is very superior to the panel in the polyptych of Padua, which, in fact, is the poorest part of this altar-piece. The figures of this painting, which I assign to Francesco dei Franceschi are the same size as the full-length saints of the polyptych. Besides the figures of the Virgin and St. John, which are depicted also on the authentic work, we see here two angels above and in the background a domed church, apparently modelled on that of S. Antonio of Padua, which makes it probable that the work was not only executed in that town but also that it was painted after the cupolas were heightened in 1424.

There are several other paint-

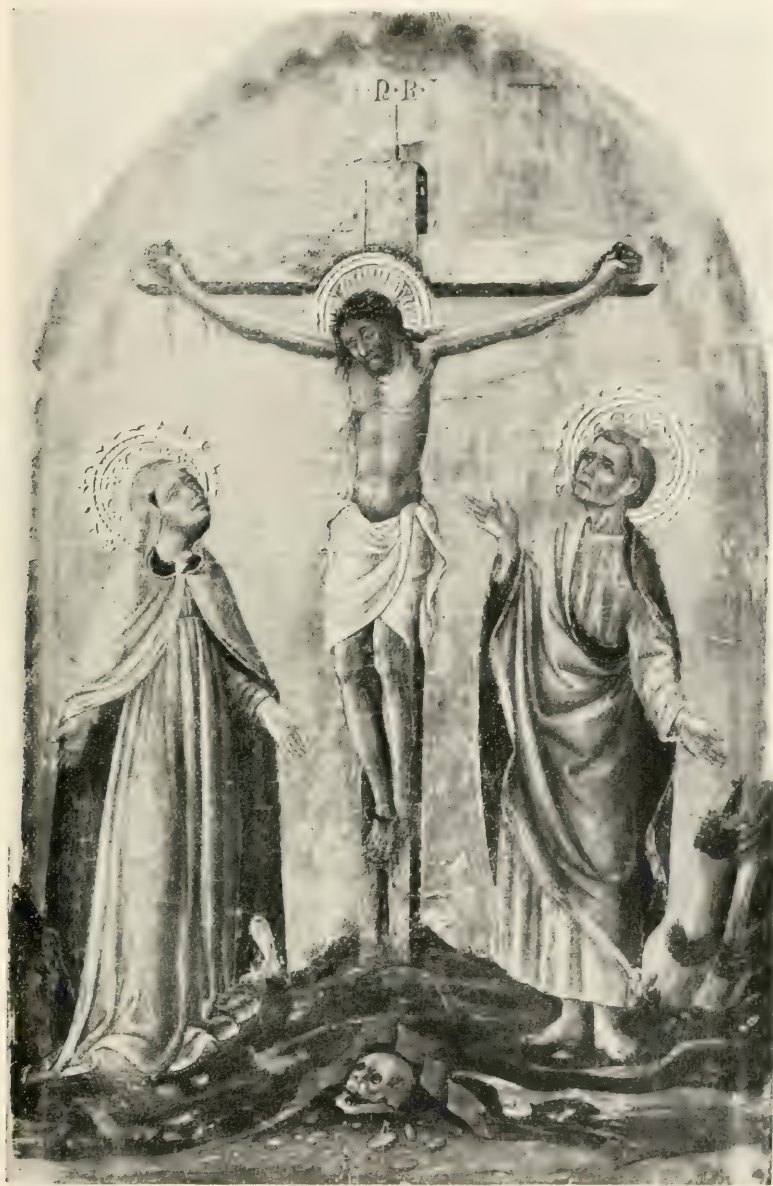


Fig. 257. Francesco de' Franceschi, the Crucifixion. Museum, Padua.

Photo Ist. Ital. Arti Grafiche.

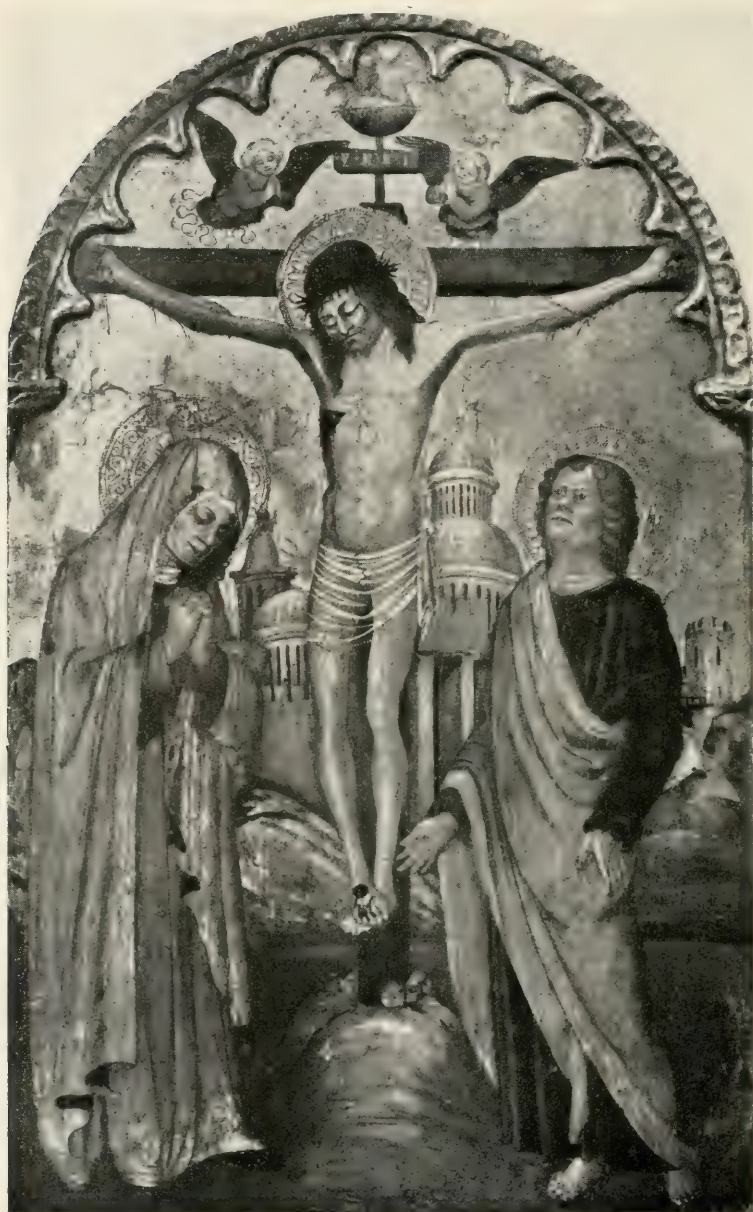


Fig. 258. Francesco de' Franceschi, the Crucifixion. Private Collection.



Fig. 259. Francesco de' Franceschi. St. Mamas. Museum, Verona.

Photo Anderson.

ings which I believe to be from the hand of Francesco dei Franceschi. Firstly I shall cite the St. Mamas in the Gallery of Verona (No. 124); he sits on a lion, his face to the spectator, holding a branch in one hand and an open book in the other; this picture

is sometimes attributed to Giambono (fig. 259) ⁽¹⁾. Then there are four panels with scenes from the life of this saint, which in all probability belong to the same altar-piece as the foregoing work.

The picture was reconstructed by Mr. R. Fry, who, however, assigns it to Giambono ⁽²⁾. Two pieces are in the Correr Museum, Venice and two others, under the name of Giambono, were shown by Mr. J. Annan Bryce at the exhibition of early Venetian art, held at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1912 ⁽³⁾. An Annunciation — two half-length figures framed together — in the Gallery of Verona (No. 3) is certainly from the same hand as the picture of St. Mamas.

Other attributions to Francesco dei Franceschi are more hypothetical, that is to say, if they are by him, they must have been executed at a period, more or less distant from 1447, the year he painted his only authentic work. They are firstly two panels in the Gallery of Bergamo (Nos. 179 and 180), there called Venetian primitives ⁽⁴⁾, representing the martyrdoms of SS. Lucy (fig. 260) and Apollonia. The figures on these panels, which have sometimes been ascribed to Jacopo Bellini ⁽⁵⁾, are more elongated and less robust, but many elements in them and in the architecture as well, recall the scenes from the legend of St. Mamas. I am less convinced of the attribution to this artist of a Crucifixion of a crowded composition in the Museum of Ravenna, there given to the Venetian school (fig. 261) ⁽⁶⁾; it is a dramatic scene,

⁽¹⁾ This attribution was rather hesitatingly made by Signor Fiocco in his article in *Venezia* and in a more affirmative manner in that in *Dedalo*. An erroneous interpretation of a note, taken many years ago, led me to place this picture among the Veronese works of about 1400 in Vol. IV, p.

⁽²⁾ *Burlington Magazine*, March 1912, p. 200.

⁽³⁾ *Burlington Fine Arts Club, Early Venetian Pictures and other Works of Art*, London, 1912, p. 20 and pl. II.

⁽⁴⁾ *G. Frizzoni, Le gallerie dell' Accademia Carrara in Bergamo*, Bergamo, 1907, figs 62 and 63.

⁽⁵⁾ By A. Venturi and by G. Fogolari.

⁽⁶⁾ *C. Ricci, Raccolte artistiche di Ravenna*, Bergamo, 1905, p. 26, sees the resemblance between this picture and the two in Bergamo and goes very near to ascribing them to Jacopo Bellini. *Testi*, op. cit., II, p. 281, notices this resemblance, in the case of the Crucifixion in particular, and is of opinion that the two martyrdom scenes are Venetian works of the same artistic movement.



Fig. 260. Francesco de' Franceschi (?), the martyrdom of St. Lucy.
Gallery, Bergamo.

Photo Ist. Ita'. Arti Grafiche.

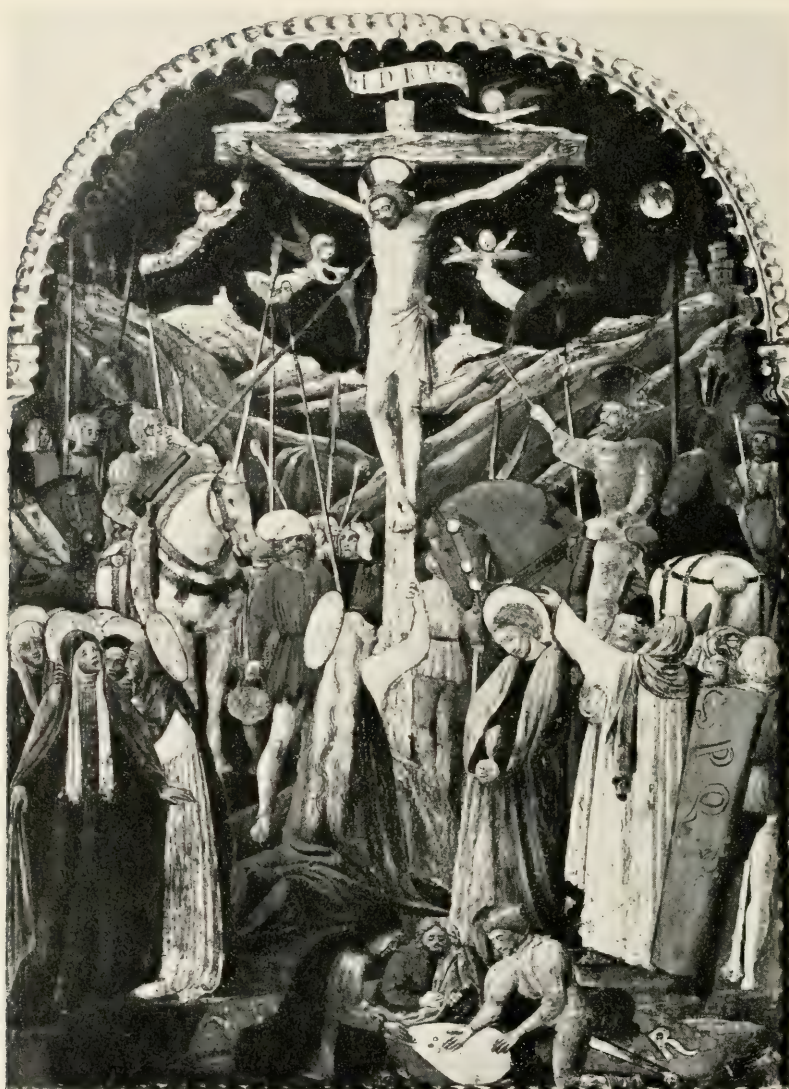


Fig. 261. Francesco de' Franceschi(?), the Crucifixion. Gallery, Ravenna.

Photo Ist. Ital. Arti Grafiche.

shown against a rocky landscape with angels hovering round the cross⁽¹⁾.

Almost the same artistic movement is, I think, manifest in the

⁽¹⁾ The frame of this picture is practically of the same form as that of the Crucifixion in a private collection, which I ascribed to this master.



Fig. 262. The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple,
Venetian School, second half of the 15th century.
Louvre, Paris.

Photo Alinari.



Fig. 263. The Visitation, Venetian School, second half of the 15th century. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Alinari.



Fig. 264. The Flight into Egypt, Venetian School, second half of the 15th century. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Alinari.

twelve scenes from the life of the Virgin, which form four panels, now in the Louvre (1280, '81, '82, '83) (figs. 262—264) ⁽¹⁾, catalogued as belonging to the school of Gentile da Fabriano, attributed to Jacopo Bellini by Colasanti ⁽²⁾, L. Venturi ⁽³⁾ and by Ludwig and Molmenti ⁽⁴⁾, to Antonio Vivarini by Berenson ⁽⁵⁾ and in rather a doubtful manner to the Venetian school by Testi ⁽⁶⁾. Some of the faces call to mind the works of Antonio Vivarini, while the proportions and forms make us think of Francesco dei Franceschi and through him of Gentile. I am of opinion that the fore-named Madonna, formerly in the Richter collection, now in that of Signor Cagnola in Milan, is from the same hand ⁽⁷⁾.

In the neighbourhood of Venice there are still a few manifestations of cosmopolitan art. In the church of Sta. Corona in Vicenza, there are the decorations of the tombs of two members of the Thiene family, one dead in 1344, the other in 1415, but both frescoes, each of which represents the Madonna, saints and a devotee, were, no doubt, executed towards the latter date ⁽⁸⁾. They are rather insignificant works, but we find a very important series of frescoes, belonging to this artistic direction, in the Sala delle Ragione in Padua (frontispiece and figs. 265 and 266) ⁽⁹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ These pictures originate from the Campana collection; the scenes represented are: the Marriage of the Virgin, the Circumcision, the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, the Visitation, the Flight into Egypt, a second representation of the Presentation in the Temple, Christ among the Doctors, Joachim with the Shepherds, the Birth of the Virgin, again her Marriage, the Nativity and another representation of the Circumcision.

⁽²⁾ *A. Colasanti*, Gentile da Fabriano, p. 77.

⁽³⁾ *L. Venturi*, op. cit., pp. 68 and 100.

⁽⁴⁾ *Ludwig e Molmenti*, op. cit., p. 219.

⁽⁵⁾ *B. Berenson*, The Study and Criticism of Italian Art, I, London, 1912, p. 94.

⁽⁶⁾ *Testi*, op. cit., II, p. 295.

⁽⁷⁾ v. p. 351. Reprod. in *Testi*, op. cit., I, p. 531.

⁽⁸⁾ v. Vol. IV, p. 108.

⁽⁹⁾ *W. Burges*, La Ragione de Padoue, Annales archéologiques, XVIII, p. 331; XXVI, pp. 189 and 250. *A. Moschetti*, Gli antichi restauri e il ritrovamento degli affreschi originali nella Sala della Ragione di Padova, Boll. d. Mus. Civ. di Padova, XIII, facs. 1—3. *P. D'Ancona*, L'Uomo e le sue opere, Florence, 1923, p. 82. The latter has with reason contested Burges' opinion that we are dealing here with illustrations of Pietro d'Abano's writings on astrology.

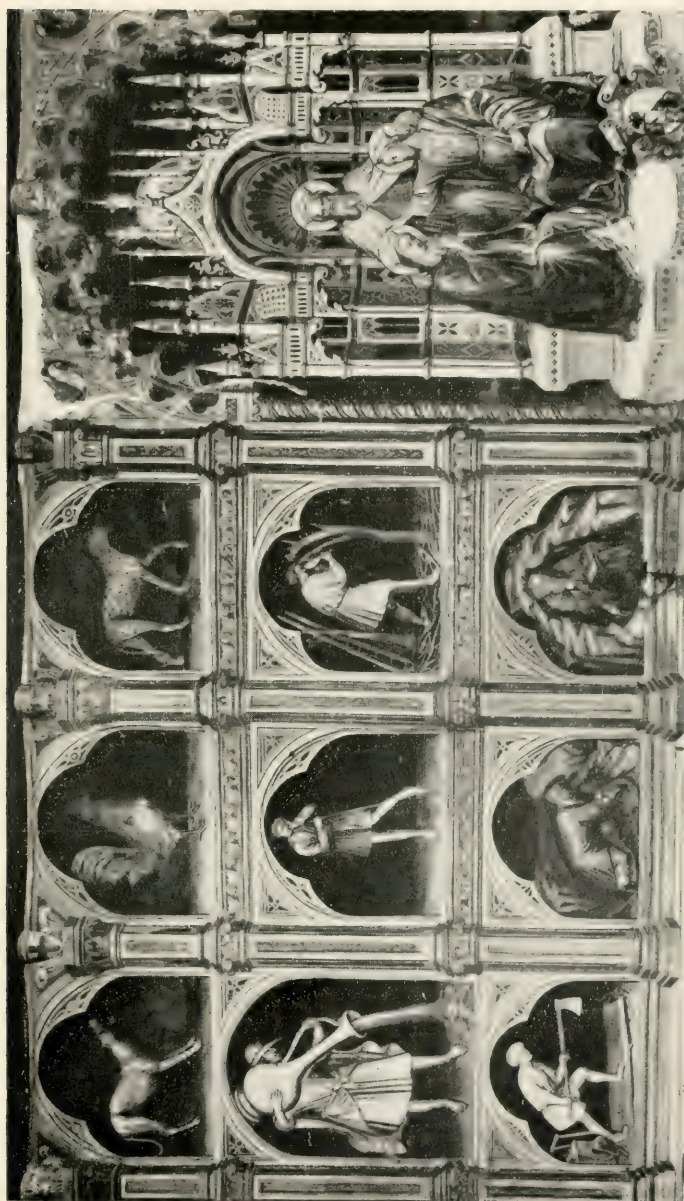


Fig. 265. Niccolo Miretto, wall painting, after 1420. Sala della Ragione, Padua.

Photo Alinari.

These frescoes were executed by Niccolo Miretto and his helpers after the fire of 1420. It would be useless to give once more a description of the hundreds of figures which adorn these walls. The restoration, which covered most of the original works, has in part been removed under the careful direction of Signor



Fig 266. Niccolo Miretto, wall painting, after 1420. Sala della Ragione. Padua.

Photo Alinari.

Moschetti. The principal aim of the painter was to demonstrate the influence of the stars and the planets on the lives of human beings. The different scenes, which are connected with one another, are depicted one below the other. The heavenly bodies and astrological ideas are personified and shown together with mythological figures. There are also some religious representations which include figures of saints, a Crucifixion and a Coronation of the Virgin, with God the Father on an imposing Gothic

throne; the latter is thoroughly Paduan in composition and closely resembles the fresco of the 14th century in the chapel of St. George; under the figure of a bearded man, holding a sphere, is inscribed the name of Giotto.

The liking for the portrayal of personifications had existed for a long time in Padua; Guariento shows us this form of representation in his frescoes in the Eremitani church, so that these paintings were apparently of local inspiration. Very individual features appear also in the interesting frescoes of 1436 by Storlato, parts of which have recently been brought to light in the S. Lucca chapel of S. Giustina, Padua. We find no other manifestations of this art in the town, until the painters of the next generation transformed the Gothic line into a style, more purely modelled on the artistic principles of the 15th century. It is true that certain miniatures of the end of the 14th century pave the way to Paduan painting of the beginning of the 15th century, such for instance as the illuminations of Petrarch's "*De Viris illustribus*", in the Library of Darmstadt, which seem to have been executed in Padua⁽¹⁾. Some Paduan miniatures of 1418, illustrating Petrarch's "*Epitome illustrium Virorum*", were formerly in the Rossiana Library, Vienna, but have since been transferred to that of the Vatican⁽²⁾. Dating from the same period is the book of drawings in the Print Room of the National Gallery, Rome, which Signor Venturi believed to be the sketches for Giusto Menabuoi da Padova's frescoes in the Eremitani church, but are more probably copies of this master's paintings and in fact rather free copies, because, even in the details, we discover elements of the style of the early 15th century (figs. 267—269)⁽³⁾. Again they depict personifications, allegories and figures from classic antiquity, so that this series of drawings can be considered a Paduan work of the same type as the frescoes by Miretto.

(¹) v. Vol. IV, p. 208.

(²) Beschreib. Verzeichnis der illum. Hss. in Österreich, V. H. Tietze, Die illuminirten Hss. der Rossiana in Wien-Lainz, Leipzig, 1911, No. 194.

(³) A. Venturi, Il libro di Giusto per la cappella degli Eremitani in Padova, Le Gallerie Nazionali Italiane, IV, 1899. *The Same*, Il libro dei disegni di Giusto, idem, V, 1902. *The Same*, L'Arte, 1903, p. 79. J. von Schlosser, Zur Kenntniss der Künstlerische Ueberlieferung in späteren Mittelalter; Jahrb. der Kunsthist. Samml. des Allerh. Kaiserh., XXIII, 1903, v. Vol. IV, p. 172.



Fig. 268. Leaf of a sketchbook, Paduan School, beginning of the 15th century. Print Room, Rome.

Gallery of Rovigo ⁽¹⁾. Painted in the same manner, is a figure of

⁽¹⁾ *L. Venturi*, op. cit., p. 59, attributes it to Giambono, but it is also ascribed to an imaginary first Luigi Vivarini, to Donato Bragadin and to Giovanni d'Alemagna. v. *Testi*, op. cit., II, p. 30.



Fig. 270. St. Francis, Venetian School, first half of the 15th century. Gallery, Venice.

Photo Fiorentini.

appearance⁽¹⁾ as is also a picture of Christ enthroned, originating from the old convent of the Pala d'Oro, now in the museum of the basilica of S. Marco ⁽²⁾.

Executed in a more evolved style, approaching that of Jacobello and of Giambono, are the half-length figures of SS. James, Jerome, Augustine and Francis (fig. 270) in the Gallery of Venice (Nos. 31, 32, 34 and 35), bearing the false signature of Alvise Vivarini ⁽³⁾. Showing a fairly close resemblance to this picture, but of a softer technique, are the full-length figures of the Baptist and the archangel Michael in the Gallery of Verona (Nos. 735 and 736) (fig. 271) ⁽⁴⁾, and also a damaged triptych of no great importance, representing the crowned Virgin between St. Bartholomew and the holy bishop Floridus in a chapel to the left in the church of S. Francesco, in Citta di Castello. In the Museum of Berlin there is a painting of St. Michael slaying the dragon and holding the scales (No. 1155), which also belongs to this group. Some drawings in the Kupferstich Kabinet, Berlin, are ascribed to the Venetian school, approaching Jacobello's manner; they include some natural history sketches — birds, flowers and butterflies — St. Michael on a pillar and a representation of the discovery of Corinthian capitals by Pallimachus ⁽⁵⁾. An important mystical representation of the Lord, with the Lamb on His lap in a mandorla, surrounded by the symbols of the Evangelists and many figures in adoration, dating from the early years of the 15th century, formed part of the collection in the Art Academy, Vienna, but was given back to Italy after the war.

In the Correr Museum, Venice, this aspect of Venetian art is represented by several works of no great importance, such as

⁽¹⁾ Hesitatingly ascribed to Niccolo di Pietro by *Testi*, op. cit., II, p. 129. *A. Venturi*, *Stor. dell' arte ital.*, VII¹, p. 294, assigns it to the Venetian school of the end of the 14th century.

⁽²⁾ *Testi*, op. cit., II, p. 32; sometimes attributed to Bragadin, also to Antonio Vivarini.

⁽³⁾ *Testi*, op. cit., I, pp. 419, 421.

⁽⁴⁾ A third panel of the same series, showing St. George, is preserved, so I believe, in the collection of Count Hans Wilezek, near Vienna. v. *Trecca*, *Catalogue of the Gallery of Verona*, p. 10.

⁽⁵⁾ *Lippmann*, *Zeichnungen alter Meister*, Nos. 154, 155, 195. *C. Loeser*, *Repert. f. Kunstwiss.*, XXV, 1902, p. 348. *Hill*, *Pisanello*, p. 36.



Fig. 271. St. John the Baptist and the Archangel Michael, Venetian School, early 15th century. Museum, Verona.

Photo Cracco.

the Madonna enthroned with the Baptist and two adorers (1033), the Madonna, Child and angels with God the Father above, St. Ermogorus with an adorer and St. Fortunatus (409), and the

Virgin, St. Joseph and holy women adoring the Child in the manger (no number).

In the Nevin collection, which was put up to auction in Rome, in April 1907, there was a Madonna of Succour, between the Baptist and St. Antony Abbot, as well as a triptych, dated 1407, of the Venetian school (No. 221 of the sale catalogue). An Adoration of the Magi of the von Tucher collection, sold in Berlin in December 1925 (No. 61), belongs to the same school, but is of slightly later date.

The names of several Venetian painters of the first half of the 15th century are known to us only through documents ⁽¹⁾.

Some interesting manifestations of Venetian art of the Gothic style of the beginning of the 15th century are found in Dalmatia. They are large altar-pieces of a form frequently seen in Venetian art of the previous century in Venice itself, as for instance those of Lorenzo Veneziano. The appearance of the works in question, however, reveals the fact that they are productions of the first part of the 15th century. Jacobello del Fiore and Francesco dei Franceschi were still in Venice at this time; but in that town this form of art became very rare, while in Dalmatia, probably behind the times compared with the large centres, it was still greatly in vogue. The large altar-piece of Jacobello, moreover, was not made for Venice but for Teramo.

The finest example of this kind of polyptych is now preserved in the sacristy of S. Francesco in Zara. It is an imposing construction: in the centre we see the Virgin on a Gothic throne, holding the Child standing on her knee; on the lateral panels there are three large figures of saints to either side. Six half-length figures are depicted above, as well as Christ arising from His tomb, the Virgin and St. John. Below, the half-length figures of the Redeemer and the Twelve Apostles adorn the predella. The frame is of a very elaborate form, similar to those we see in Venetian art of the 14th century. Unfortunately different attempts at restoration have considerably disfigured this important picture ⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *Testi*, op. cit., II, pp. 76—91 passim.

⁽²⁾ These restorations were ordered by the Austrian government in 1893—1902. v. *A. Dudan*, *La Dalmazia nell' arte italiana*, II, Milan, 1922, p. 373.



Fig. 272. Madonna, Veneto-Dalmatian School, beginning of the 15th century. Sta. Maria, Zaza.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. 1-str.

Apparently another large polyptych was once preserved in the cathedral of the town ⁽¹⁾.

Another production of the same style is found in Zara, in the church of Sta. Maria. It is no doubt the central panel of a polyptych; it shows the Virgin on a beautiful architectural throne, suckling the Child. The calligraphic and Gothic effects are even more pronounced in the draperies of this picture (fig. 272).

At Sebenico there are two altar-pieces painted after this style; that in the church of S. Antonio has as central figure, the Virgin sitting on a cushion against a background of trees, suckling the Child. The lateral saints are SS. Peter, Michael, Stephen, and James. The Annunciation on separate panels and two holy clerics are depicted above, while the pinnacle is adorned with the Crucifixion and two little figures of saints. In the old church of S. Pietro, there is a large part of another polyptych in a very bad state of preservation. In the centre the Virgin is represented as a Madonna della Misericordia, but without any of the faithful seeking protection under her cloak. Three full-length figures of saints are seen to either side, while six half-length figures of saints are all that remain of the upper part of the altar-piece. The Saviour and the Twelve Apostles are depicted in bust on the predella. These two works, in which a certain influence of Gentile is noticeable, seem to date from a slightly later period, probably from about 1450.

Two polyptychs on the Island of Curzola, on the other hand, show more connexion with Venetian art of the 14th century, only the forms are a little changed according to the taste of the time. The first, which is preserved in the church of the Concezione is the finer; the Virgin is seated on an elaborate Gothic throne, on which two angelic figures are placed, with the Child standing on her knee. The figures of SS. Michael, John the Baptist, Peter and Nicholas on the lateral panels are in proportion and type very reminiscent of Lorenzo Veneziano's paintings. (fig. 273). The upper panels and the predella of this altar-piece are missing. The other polyptych at Curzola, which is found in the Ognissanti church, is, although of an inferior technique,

⁽¹⁾ G. Sabalich, *I dipinti delle chiese di Zara*, Zara, 1906. *The Same*, *Pitture antiche di Zara*, Zara, 1920. Dudan, *op. cit.*, p. 370.



Fig. 273. Madonna and saints, polyptych, Veneto-Dalmatian School, beginning of the 15th century. Concezione church, Curzola.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

apparently from the same hand. Here the central figure is that of the dead Saviour half out of His tomb, supported by the Virgin and St. John; the lateral panels, all of which are not in their right



Fig. 274. Polyptych, Veneto-Dalmatian School, beginning of the 15th century.
Ognissanti, Curzola.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

place, show SS. Catherine of Alexandria, Dominic, Peter the Martyr and Barbara. Above we see SS. Nicholas, Blaise (?), Stephen and Antony Abbot. A half-length figure of the Virgin between the small figures of SS. Francis and Mary Magdalene, adorns the pinnacle, while in the predella we again find the Saviour and the Twelve Apostles (fig. 274).

This propensity for depicting a row of small figures in the predella is another characteristic of Venetian polyptychs of the 14th century. The Saviour and His disciples, although of a more independent composition, because Christ is depicted coming out of His tomb, is seen once more on the predella of another altar-



Fig. 275. Madonna and saints, Veneto-Dalmatian School, beginning of the 15th century. Museum, Palermo.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

piece, which is preserved in the Museum of Palermo, but which, none the less, I classify with this group of Dalmatian works.

It represents in the centre the Virgin and Child in the midst of four angels, two of whom make music. The lateral figures are SS. Catherine of Alexandria with her name inscribed ⁽¹⁾, Paul, Peter and Dominic (fig. 275). Here and there we notice archaic

⁽¹⁾ The lily which she holds is not the emblem of St. Catherine of Alexandria but that of St. Catherine of Siena.

elements which derive from Venetian art of the 14th century, but on the whole the work appears to be of rather a late style, which in part seems to be due to restoration. This painting shows too great a difference from the genuine Sicilian productions for us to classify it among the latter and I think a Veneto-Dalmatian origin is, in all likelihood, the more probable.

It is interesting to note, that some miniatures, showing the same characteristics, were executed in the region of Istria. Some illuminations of this style in a Latin antiphonary in the parish archives of Capodistria are signed "*Opus Nazarii de Sustino-poli*" (Capodistria) (1).

However, of none of these altar-pieces which I have just described, is the name of the painter known. Nevertheless, the names of several Dalmatian artists of the first half of the 15th century have come down to us. A certain Biagio di Luca da Zara was apprenticed in 1384 to Jacobello Bonomo of Venice and, as it will be remembered, was one of those who continued the style of Lorenzo Veneziano (2). In 1430 Biagio is mentioned as a sculptor in wood, and is perhaps the Blasius de Jadra, who signed a Madonna in 1447 and might also be the "*Mistro Biasio pettor*", who in 1397 undertook to execute for 90 lire an altar-piece of St. Nicholas. At Sebenico a "*Mastro Andrea depentor*" is mentioned in 1436. "*Niccolo quondam Vladani*" of Sebenico, painter and sculptor in wood, is recorded as signing a contract in 1443 to make an altar-piece with a carved frame, for the sum of 425 lire, for the chapel of Sta. Maria, in the church of S. Domenico. Then "*Doimo quondam Marini*" and Antonio, both painters of Spalato, undertook, in 1444, to make an altar-piece of St. Martin for the chapel of this saint in the church of S. Francesco, Sebenico, and a polyptych for the chapel of St. George in the cathedral. It is further recorded that Doimo painted a banner for the confraternity of Valverde, while the name of his son, Marinello, also a painter, appears in documents between 1463 and 1468. At Ragusa we find the painters Stocco (1395), Milassio (1415), Radi

(1) *F. Wickhoff u M. Dvorak*, Beschreib. Verzeich. der Ill. Hss. in Österreich, VII. *H. Folnesics*, Die Ill. Hss. in Istrië und der Stadt Triest, Leipzig, 1917, No. 20.

(2) v. Vol. IV, p. 85.

(1416) and Matteo Gronci (1454) ⁽¹⁾. This following of the two arts, sculpture and painting, is again characteristic of the artists of Venice and makes us think for example of the Moranzone.

Although we are hardly justified in speaking of an actual Dalmatian school, the number of Dalmatian artists and the documentary evidence of their activity, as well as the appearance of the works we find in this region, point to the existence of a fairly important local group, with its own peculiarities inspired, however by Venetian art of a bygone generation.

⁽¹⁾ *Sabulich, Dudan*, op. cit.

ADDITIONS.

p. 7 note 1. To the bibliography should be added: *L. Maeterlinck*, *La pénétration française en Flandre: une école prééyckienne inconnue*, Paris-Bruxelles, 1925. As will be gathered from the title the author believes in a French precedence. He is of opinion that the town of Ghent was the centre where the early stages of the Flemish Renaissance were prepared.

p. 110. Some very pleasing miniatures by an artist who was obviously influenced by Giovanni de' Grassi are found in a Book of Hours, the first part of which was illuminated perhaps for Gian Galeazzo Visconti, consequently before 1402. This manuscript is preserved in the Royal Library of Holland, in The Hague (MS. 76 F. 6). *A. W. Byvanck*, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibl. Roy. des Pays Bas et au Musée Meermanno-Westreenianum à La Haye*, Paris, 1924, p. 36 and pl. 17.

p. 126. Of Lombard origin and of the beginning of the 15th century seems to be a very beautiful page of sketches in the Albertina, Vienna. It shows on the recto an armoured knight charging on horse back and some heads of falcons, and on the verso a leopard attacking a deer, two monkeys and a lynx killing a lamb. *A Stix und L. Fröhlich-Bum*, *Die Zeichnungen der Venezianischen Schule: Beschreib. Katal. der Handzeich. in der Graph. samml. Albertina, I*, Vienna, 1926, No. 13.

p. 395. Some interesting Veronese drawings have recently been bought for the Albertina, Vienna v. *Stix u. Fröhlich*, op. cit. The following are by anonymons artists: No. 1, the fainting Madonna supported by two women (circa 1400; a replica of this sketch exists in the British Museum, Vasari Society, V, 1); No. 2, the Holy Trinity and two figures of prophets (beginning of the 15th century). To Stefano da Verona should be ascribed: No. 3, three sketches of prophets holding streamers with the inscription "*Stefano Falconetto*"; No. 5, angels of the Annunciation and on the verso a warrior in battle (to be compared with fig. 191), and No. 6, the Nativity of the Virgin (?). From the hand of Badile seems to be No. 4, the Flagellation and on the verso St. Thomas à Becket.

All these drawings which belonged to the G. L. collection were acquired by the Albertina in 1923 and are also reproduced by *A. Stix* in "Albertina" Neue Folge, II.

p. 376. Formerly in the G. L. collection and now in the Albertina, Vienna, is a drawing by Giambono representing the archangel Michael overcoming

the devil who tries to get hold of the balance of the souls and a monk and on the verso St. Christopher. *Stix u. Fröhlich*, op. cit., No. 15.

p. 399. Some pen and ink drawings, somewhat resembling those in the sketchbook in the Print Room of Rome, but executed in a more evolved style, illustrate a manuscript of the romance of Lancelot in Venetian dialect of 1446 in the National Library, Florence v. *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, L, 1926 p. 169.

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